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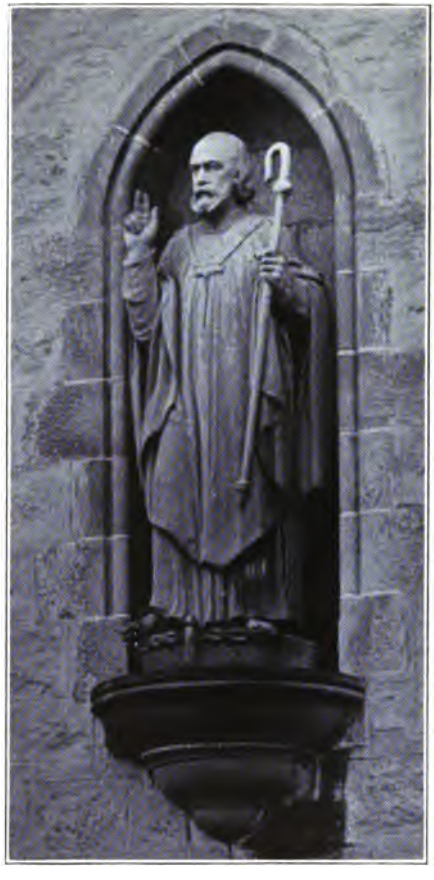

STATUE OF ST. COLUMBA
At end of chapel, Iona

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Biographical Studies in Scottish Church History

By
ANTHONY MITCHELL, D.D.
Bishop of Aberdeen and Orkney

Delivered in St Paul's Church, Chicago, Illinois
November 1914

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EXTRACTS

FROM THE WILL OF THE RT. REV. CHARLES REUBEN HALE, D.D., LL.D., BISHOP COADJUTOR OF SPRINGFIELD, *born* 1837; *consecrated July* 26, 1892; *died December* 25, 1900.

✠ In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

I, CHARLES REUBEN HALE, BISHOP OF CAIRO, BISHOP COADJUTOR OF SPRINGFIELD, of the City of Cairo, Illinois, do make, publish, and declare this, as and for my Last Will and Testament, hereby revoking all former wills by me made.

First. First of all, I commit myself, soul and body, into the hands of Jesus Christ, my Lord and Saviour, in Whose Merits alone I trust, looking for the Resurrection of the Body and the Life of the World to come.

. . . . . .

Fourteenth. All the rest and residue of my Estate, personal and real, not in this my Will otherwise specifically devised, wheresoever situate, and whether legal or equitable, I give, devise, and bequeath to "THE WESTERN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS," above mentioned, but nevertheless *In Trust*, provided it shall accept the trust by an instrument in writing so stating, filed with this Will in the Court where probated, within six months after the probate of this Will—for the general purpose of promoting the Catholic Faith, in its purity and integrity, as taught in Holy Scripture, held by the Primitive Church, summed up in the Creeds and affirmed

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by the undisputed General Councils, and, in particular, to be used only and exclusively for the purposes following, to-wit:—

. . . . . .

(2) The establishment, endowment, publication, and due circulation of Courses of Lectures, to be delivered annually forever, to be called "The Hale Lectures."

The Lectures shall treat of one of the following subjects:

(*a*) Liturgies and Liturgics.
(*b*) Church Hymns and Church Music.
(*c*) The History of the Eastern Churches.
(*d*) The History of National Churches.
(*e*) Contemporaneous Church History: *i.e.*, treating of events happening since the beginning of what is called "The Oxford Movement," in 1833.

It is the aim of the Seminary, through the Hale Lectures, to make from time to time some valuable contributions to certain of the Church's problems, without thereby committing itself to agreement with the utterances of its own selected Preachers.

TO

The Rev. Herman Page, D.D.

HIS CLERICAL COLLEAGUES, AND THE CONGREGATION OF ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, CHICAGO, THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED, IN MEMORY OF MANY KINDNESSES RECEIVED.

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ST. COLUMBA'S CHAPEL, IONA

ST. COLUMBA'S CHAPEL, IONA

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I—THE CELTIC PERIOD

Saint Columba

Abbot of Iona from 563 to 597 A.D.

The noble and commanding figure of Columba, the founder of the famous monastery of Iona in the sixth century, stands more clearly outlined than any other against the dim background of early Scottish Christianity. Not that the great Irish saint was even amongst the earliest of those missionaries who laboured with varying success to bring the fierce inhabitants of ancient Caledonia under the gentle yoke of Christ, nor that in his own day and generation he toiled alone in that part of the Lord's vineyard. But he was more fortunate than either his predecessors or his contemporaries both in the lasting effect of his work, and in the trustworthiness of those records of it and of himself which have come down to us.

For Columba's character and achievements were of that splendid quality which leaves an indelible mark upon the worker's own time, as well as upon the life of successive generations. And we are treading on solid historical ground, however slippery our footing may sometimes be, when we read the pages written by Adamnan, the kins-

TO WHO
ARGYLL

man and biographer of Columba.[1] Our saint is no shadowy creation of sickly brains, but a real being of flesh and blood. Whatever deductions it may be necessary to make in dealing with a narrative written for an age whose point of view and whose mental furniture were very different from ours, we have abundant reason to be grateful to Adamnan for information which is priceless. "To Adamnan," says Dr. Reeves,[2] "is, indeed, owing the historic precision, and the intelligible operation, which characterize the second stage of the ancient Irish Church. In the absence of his memoir, the *Life* of St. Columba would degenerate into the foggy, unreal species of narrative which belongs to the *Lives* of his contemporaries, and we should be entirely in the dark on many points of discipline and belief, concerning which we have now a considerable amount of satisfactory information."

Adamnan's conception of his task was indeed very different from that of a modern biographer. The common everyday things which we would give much to know—the things that illustrate character, and make bygone life and ancient customs clear to us—did not seem to him to be worthy of special notice. We can only glean such details incidentally. And on the other hand everything

[1] Adamnan was Columba's eighth and most outstanding successor in office as Abbot of Iona.

[2] *Historians of Scotland.* Vol. VI, p. xxx.

that seemed uncommon and of the supernatural order of things, was exceedingly precious in his sight. In this, of course, Adamnan was merely the child of his age. The public which read lives of saints expected to find eminent saintship attested by outstanding miracles, and the much wider public which could not read was more credulous still. Adamnan shews his sense of what his audience will expect of him by the plan of his work.[3] He places in the forefront a brief account of some of Columba's miracles, which, he informs the eager sort of his readers, is meant as a sort of appetizer for them (*quasi legentibus avide praegustanda*), from which they may judge of the still more luscious courses (*dulciores quasdam dapes*), which are to follow.[4] Doubtless such readers felt a gratification which we of a later age find it difficult to share, at the author's assurance that the miracles which he has to relate are so much greater than those which popular fame has already published abroad regarding the saint.[5]

At a later stage I shall say what I think of

---

[3] The *Life* is divided into three books, the first relating the saint's prophetical revelations, the second his miracles, while the third gives the visions of angels seen by, or in connection with, him. Each chapter is as a rule devoted to one supernatural occurrence. There is hardly any attempt at chronological order, but at the end of the third book we find a full account of Columba's last days and of his death.

[4] *Life:* 2nd Preface. [5] *Life:* 1st Preface.

these stories of the miraculous. We need now only to remember that they are not deliberate fictions. Adamnan thoroughly believed in them, and he was evidently satisfied as to his authority for relating them. He had been born, like the saint, in County Donegal, twenty-seven years after Columba's death, and from his earliest years he would have heard tales about his illustrious kinsman. He had spoken in his youth with an aged Columban monk, who, on the night that the saint died, saw a strange illumination in County Donegal,[6] and he had conversed with others who had listened to the words of one who had been with Columba in Iona.[7] Thus even if it was a century after Columba's death before Adamnan wrote the famous *Life*,[8] his links with the past were of a real character.

Besides, at the date of writing he had been a member of the Iona brotherhood for probably at least forty-five years,[9] and its Abbot for sixteen. Thus he must have been steeped in the local traditions relating to Columba, to which must be added the advantage of writing amidst all the sights and sounds of Iona itself. He had also at his disposal a memoir of Columba[10] written by a former Abbot,

[6] *Life* III, c. 24. [7] II. c. 35.

[8] Reeves. *Historians of Scotland*, VI, p. clv.

[9] *Ibid.* p. cl.

[10] This memoir he incorporated into his own compilation, almost verbatim.

Cummene the Fair, as well as other written sources of information.

The story of Columba's life, as gathered from Adamnan's work and other ancient sources, reveals the saint to us as a devoted son of the Irish Church from his early years to the day of his death. His removal to Iona made no real break in his connection with the land of his birth. He continued to superintend his monastic foundations in Ireland as long as he lived, and on several occasions after his headquarters had been established in North Britain we find him exercising a potent influence on Irish affairs. What is now the County of Argyll was in Columba's day simply a part of Ireland across the sea, and even the name Scotland belonged to Ireland until the tenth century.[11] It is important to remember these facts when we study such peculiar features of Columban Christianity in Scotland as its exclusively monastic organization, the irregular position of its Bishops, its obsolete method of dating Easter, and the unusual shape of the tonsure of its monks. These were part and parcel of the Church system of Ireland in Columba's day. It was a system which exhibited the free Gallican spirit of Western Christianity in perhaps its most luxuriant form, with an unrivalled

[11] What is now called Scotland was known in early times as Caledonia, or Alban.

personal devotion and enthusiasm on the one hand, and a characteristic carelessness about stereotyped fashions and rigid organization on the other.

Columba was born in County Donegal in the year 521, at Gartan, a scene of wild loveliness on the lower slopes of the Derryveigh Hills. There are several ancient ecclesiastical ruins in the vicinity, and a small heap of stones not far from Loch Gartan is pointed out as the saint's actual birthplace. The simple folk of the countryside still believe that whoever sleeps a night upon Columkille's stone before emigrating will be free from "thinking long," or home-sickness, and legends of Columba still linger in the district. His father, Fedhlimidh (Phelim), was a member of the clan of the O'Donnels, and a descendant of Niall of the Nine Hostages, king of Ireland from A. D. 379 to 405. Columba was thus nearly related to the reigning families in Ireland and in Argyll, and according to Reeves was himself "eligible to the sovereignty" of Ireland.[12] His mother, Eithne of Leinster, was also of royal descent.

Columba's royal birth was, it is easy to imagine, a very important factor in his ecclesiastical career, and made many things possible to him that would have been beyond the reach of other men.

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[12] *Historians*, p. 243.

While he was by character and attainments a born leader of men, his exalted relationships opened many a door to him, and smoothed away many a difficulty. When Adamnan tells us of his intimacy with various royal personages, he is not romancing, but simply illustrating the exceptional position which Columba's birth secured to him wherever he went. Thus we learn that Brude, the king of the Picts, after his conversion at Inverness, held Columba in peculiar reverence (*valde magna honoravit, ut decuit, honorificentia*),[13] that King Roderick, who reigned at Dunbarton over the Britons of Strathclyde, was his friend,[14] that the Irish King Dermit came to see him during one of his journeys in Ireland,[15] that he stayed on occasion with his kinsman Conall, king of the Scots in Argyll,[16] and that on Conall's death he ordained Aidan as successor to the kingdom.[17]

According to local tradition, the infant princeling was baptized at Temple Douglas, a few miles distant from Gartan, where the ruins of an ancient church still exist. He is said to have been given two baptismal names, Crimthann, a wolf, and Colum, a dove.[18] If that be so, his naming was very prophetic of the strange blending in his character, of the passionate feelings inherited from warlike ancestors, and the gentle disposition of a servant of Christ.

[13] *Life*, II, 36. [14] I, 8. [15] I, 8. [16] I, 7.
[17] III, 6. [18] Dowden. *Celtic Scotland*, p. 86.

The name Columkille, or Colum of the Church, by which he was afterwards known, may be taken as an indication of the saint's youthful bent of mind. He appears from the first to have been distinguished for piety and the love of learning. As a young man he attended the monastic school of the famous Bishop St. Finnian or Findbarr of Moville, at the head of Strangford Lough. There he was ordained deacon, and, according to Adamnan, it was there also where he gave the first proof of his miraculous power, by changing water into wine.[19] While still in deacon's orders Columba went to Leinster, his mother's county, to study divine wisdom (*divinam addiscens sapientian*) under the aged bard Gemman.[20] Doubtless these studies were of a more secular character than Adamnan's words would suggest. Columba was in all probability a composer of poems[21] both in Latin and in Irish, and he became in later days the patron and protector of the Irish bards. We are indebted for our information as to this period of secular study to the fact that Adamnan relates an instance of the saint's terrible punishments of his enemies (*de adversariorum terrificis ultionibus*), in which the murderer of a young girl drops dead in the pres-

[19] *Life*, II, Chap. 1. [20] II, 26.

[21] See Appendix A. *Hymns Attributed to St. Columba.*

ence of Gemman and his pupil, on the latter pronouncing sentence upon the criminal.[21]

After this interlude our youthful cleric moved back to a more ecclesiastical atmosphere, at the monastery of Clonard, where another St. Finnian presided over what was the most famous school of ecclesiastical learning in Ireland at that time. Here he met a number of students who afterwards became, like himself, famous in the Irish Church, amongst them being SS. Comgall, Kenneth, and Kiaran. At this time he was admitted to the priesthood. According to a legend of later days he was ordained by Etchen, Bishop of Clonfad, who through some mistake failed to advance the young monk to the episcopate at the same time, as he should have done.

After some years Columba removed to another monastery, at Glasnevin, near Dublin, from which he emerged as a leader himself in a work of Church extension, which probably occupied the next fifteen years of his life. At the end of this period we find him in the prime of life, and at the full tide of his fame as a father and founder of churches and monasteries in Ireland (*monasteriorum pater et fundator*).[22] Dr. Reeves gives a list, which is not exhaustive, of thirty-seven churches in Ireland which were either founded by him, or in which his memory was specially

[21] *Life*, II, 26. [22] *Life*, 2nd Preface.

venerated. Among these were the monastery of Durrow, often mentioned in the *Life,* one of the earliest and most important of his foundations, the Black Church of Derry, and the monastery which produced the superbly decorated Book of Kells.

It was now that the impulse came to Columba, which turned his energies into a new channel, and which was fraught with so much blessing for Scotland. In the year 563 he sailed northward with twelve companions, and founded on the little island of Iona the famous monastery which was to be for centuries the most important centre of Scottish Christianity.

A glance at the political and ecclesiastical state of North Britain at this period will show the situation which awaited the band of missionaries. The withdrawal of the legions, which terminated the Roman occupation of Britain,[24] had been followed at first by a period of turbulence and anarchy. In the course of a century or more, however, a number of petty kingdoms had emerged. By Columba's time the Britons of Strathclyde had been consolidated under King Roderick, in a territory stretching from Dunbarton on the Clyde to the river Derwent in Cumberland, while the Picts of the North owed allegiance to King Brude whose seat was at Inverness. The

[24] This lasted roughly from 43 to 410 A. D.

eastern coast south of the Forth was occupied by Angles who had sailed in their galleys across the North sea from Schleswig, and formed the kingdom of Bernicia. In the west a similar invasion had begun more than twenty years before Columba's birth. The Dalriadic Scots of Ireland in the days of Fergus Macerc had begun to establish themselves in what is now the county of Argyll, and at the date of Columba's arrival they were firmly established in the country to which they were to give a name, under King Conall, a kinsman of the saint.

Of these different races two were at least nominally Christian, the Scots and the Britons, while the Picts and the Angles were still heathen. Amongst the Britons, the famous Bishop Kentigern or Mungo,[35] the patron saint of Glasgow, was still labouring, under the protection of King Roderick, and scattered here and there throughout the country were those Christian settlements which had survived the deluge of barbarism that swept away so much of the work of St. Ninian and his contemporaries. Of these early missionaries we know

[35] Jocelin, the biographer of St. Kentigern, relates that Columba once visited the British Bishop at Glasgow. The two saints met with stately ceremony, their attendants singing psalms and spiritual songs, on the banks of the Molendinar burn, where St. Mungo's Cathedral still stands. They embraced and kissed on meeting, and when the time for parting came, they exchanged their pastoral staves, as a pledge of mutual love in Christ. (*Vita Kentigerni*, c. c. 39 and 40.)

little that is certain. Ninian's biography was written some seven hundred years after his death and cannot be relied upon. A Briton born on the shores of the Solway, he was consecrated to the Episcopal office by the Bishop of Rome towards the end of the fourth century, and on his return home he founded the famous church and monastery of Candida Casa at Whithorn in Wigtonshire. Of Palladius, Ternan, and Serf, we know even less. Their names are still preserved in different localities in Aberdeenshire and Kincardineshire, and we may presume that they shared or continued Ninian's work amongst the Picts in that part of the country.[36]

It was inevitable that the settlement of the Scots in Argyll should awaken into fervour the latent missionary spirit of Irish monks and clerics. Unless their kinsmen in New Scotland were to be lost to Christianity, they must be followed and shepherded and built up in the faith. There was also the great mission field of Pictland, lying white unto the harvest across the dorsal ridge of Britain,[37] with its clear challenge to the soldiers of Christ, and its bristling array of difficulties and

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[36] See Dowden, *Celtic Church in Scotland*, for an excellent and brief account of pre-Columban Christianity in Scotland.

[37] The range of mountains, later known as the Mounth, which stretches across Scotland from Fort William to the neighbourhood of Aberdeen.

dangers to try their mettle. In Columba's day the romance of Irish Christianity lay in the adventures and triumphs which the new colony offered.

Doubtless many an unknown and unrecorded missionary responded to this great appeal. We know at any rate the names of some who did respond, either by settling permanently as Columba did, or by paying frequent visits to the land of promise. Of the former class were Donnan of Eigg, Moluag, Bishop of Lismore, and Maelrubba of Applecross in Ross-shire.[28] Amongst the latter were Finbarr, Comgall, Brendan, Ronan, and many others.[29] Thus it is clear that to one of Columba's character and zeal the call of New Scotland must sooner or later have made itself heard.

Possibly, however, there were other reasons for Columba's departure from Ireland. His proud and passionate spirit was apt at times to break out disastrously. Two years before he came to Iona a bloody battle had been fought at Cooldrevny, near Sligo, in which he is supposed to have been implicated. The cause is said to have been a dispute between Columba and his former teacher, Finnian of Moville, over the ownership of a manuscript of one of the books of Holy Scripture which the former had copied. These were wild times, and the story is not improbable.

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[28] A. D. 673. [29] *Historians*, p. xxxvi.

It was customary for monks and even for women in Ireland to take part in war, and Columba seems, even after he became Abbot of Iona, to have been more or less directly connected with two other Irish battles.[80] After the slaughter of Cooldrevny he is said to have consulted his "soul-friend" or confessor, Molaise, who enjoined exile from Ireland as a penance, and directed the penitent to win as many souls among the heathen Picts as he had brought to death upon the battlefield.[81]

From these legends we may at least extract the probability that Columba had got into some serious trouble, although, as we have seen, he did not become a complete exile from Ireland. Adamnan represents his removal as voluntary (*pro Christo peregrinari volens*),[82] but on the other hand he tells us that Columba was for some reason excommunicated by a synod in Ireland.

Whatever the reason or reasons may have been for Columba's adventure, he was now entering upon the crowning work of his life. He landed first, according to the pathetic legend, on the island of Oronsay, and climbed its highest point to see whether Ireland was still visible. Finding that he could still discern the home coast-line in the distance, he embarked again with his companions

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[80] *Historians*, xlvii.

[81] Dowden, *Celtic Church in Scotland*, p. 95.

[82] *Life*, 2nd Preface.

in their frail coracle, made of wicker work and hide, and when they landed at Iona, no trace of Ireland was to be seen.

The small island of Iona, three miles and a quarter long and a mile across the middle, lies just beyond its big neighbour, Mull, from which it is separated by a sound a mile broad.[33] Bare in aspect, and lacking features of picturesqueness or grandeur, it yet attracts, year by year, thousands of visitors to whom its sacred memories are living and real. The frail buildings of clay and wattles built by the hands of Columba and his monks in the central part of the island have long since disappeared, and the structures which now remain belong to later times. Yet the old mill-stream which drove the Columban mill is probably the same as the burn which now trickles past the north side of the mediaeval Cathedral, and to the north of that again it is believed that the original monastery stood.[34] A great glacial boulder in the vicinity may have been the stone table of the refectory, referred to in old documents,[35] and

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[33] The most recent account of Iona is to be found in Trenholme's *Story of Iona* (David Douglas, Edinburgh, 1909).

[34] Trenholme, pp. 99 and 101: It should, however, be mentioned that as the result of recent excavations the architect who carried through the restoration of the Cathedral maintains that the monastery stood on the Cathedral site.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 103.

some existing remains of earthworks may have been part of the original wall (vallum) of the monastery.[36] The famous cemetery to the south of the Cathedral, Reilig Odhrain (the burial place of Oran), is probably the place where Columba and his monks were buried,[37] for Oran was a disciple and a kinsman of the saint.[38] Two miles distant, at the southern extremity of the island is Port-na-churraich (the port of the coracle), where tradition relates that the missionaries first landed. The name of the island was not originally that which is familiar to us. Adamnan calls it Ioua Insula,[39] which points to a name like Iou (Yeo). The ordinary name in Gaelic at the present day is Y (ee), which in early records appears as Ia, Hya, or Hy.[40] The erroneous title Iona obviously arose through a misreading of Adamnan's Ioua Insula, fostered by his dwelling upon the fact that Iona (the Prophet Jonah) and Columba both bore the same name, meaning a dove.

Iona seems to have occupied a position on the border between Pictland and the southern colony, very suitable for the twofold direction of Columba's work, and we are told that the island was granted to Columba first by his kinsman Conall, prince of Scottish Dalriada, and subsequently by

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[36] *Ibid.*, p. 101. [37] *Ibid.*, p. 123 [38] *Ibid.*, p. 37.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 1. [40] Dowden, *Celtic Church*, p. 126.

IONA. REILIG ODHRAIN AND CATHEDRAL

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123 [40] *Ibid.* p. 37.
Celtic Church p. 126.

IONA. REILIG ODHRAIN AND CATHEDRAL

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Brude, king of the Picts. There is some reason to believe that the island was occupied by a Christian community before Columba's arrival.

The materials for a detailed history of Columba's labours amongst the Scots and the Picts do not exist, but we can plainly make out a career full of unremitting toil and manifold danger, with interludes of study and devotion, and quiet but strenuous routine in Iona or some neighbouring island.[41] Incessant occupation was a feature of his life. "He could not pass the space of even one hour without being engaged in prayer (*orationi*) or study (*lectioni*) or else some work (*etiam alicui operationi*). He was so occupied, day and night, with unwearied and ceaseless tasks of fastings and watchings, that the weight of his particular work seems beyond any human possibility." [42]

So speaks Adamnan of Columba's monastic life in Iona, and we have many glimpses besides of his doings beyond the Island. We meet him in the isle of Skye, now facing a wild boar in a thick wood which he has entered in order to pray,[43] now preaching through an interpreter to an aged Pictish chief, whom he baptizes in a river.[44] Now he is in danger of being drowned in a storm at sea, and takes his manful share with the sailors in the

[41] Tiree, twenty miles to the northwest, was a dependency of Iona, and contains many ecclesiastical remains. Hinba (probably Ei-lan-na-Naoimh) is also often mentioned.

[42] *Life*, 2nd Preface. [43] *Life*, II, 17. [44] I, 27.

task of baling out the boat,[45] and again he is with great common sense persuading a married woman in one of the islands not to forsake her home duties for life in a convent.[46] Often he is amongst the Picts across the dorsal ridge of Britain, at Inverness, or in Lochaber, where he enjoys for a night the hospitality of a poor man and blesses his family and his herds,[47] or at an unnamed fountain, bewitched by demons, whose waters he heals,[48] or near a village which is burnt in the darkness of the night by a malicious enemy (*aemulo persecutore*).[49] The figure that we discern through the supernatural haze is of one who is very strong and brave, very human, and entirely devoted to his high calling.

Columba's great achievement was in connection with the conversion of the Picts.[50] Soon after his settlement in Iona, the intrepid missionary, with some faithful followers, penetrated into the very heart of the hostile country, and reached the residence of King Brude, at or near Inverness. Numbered in the little band were two famous Irish ecclesiastics, Comgall and Kenneth, both Columba's friends and both Picts by race. It is obvious that they would have been most helpful

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[45] II, 11 [46] II, 27. [47] II, 20. [48] II, 10. [49] I, 28.

[50] There is, however, a growing opinion that Columba's influence on the Picts has been exaggerated, and that most Pictish mission work was done by Irish Pictish saints.

in such a mission as this, both by their influence among their fellow Picts and by their capacity as interpreters. The fact that Columba enlisted them in his enterprise indicates the thoroughness of his methods, to which rather than to the miraculous stories which Adamnan tells, his success was probably due. Brude was converted and baptized, and his people, as a matter of course, followed him.

The religion which was thus overthrown seems to have consisted mainly of the worship of demons, who dwelt "in the heavens or the earth, the sea, the river, the mountain or the valley." [51] The Druids may perhaps be compared to the "medicine-men" of Africa.[52] They were Columba's great opponents, and were believed to be in league with the demons, whose power, according to Adamnan, they often invoked against the saint. They held sway over the people by means of spells and incantations, through which they exercised mysterious powers. Columba is represented, not as denying those powers, but as doing still greater wonders by the power of Christ.

Both in Pictland and in the land of the Scots many Columban monasteries were founded as a result of his labours, but we cannot distinguish between those which belong to Columba's life-time

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[51] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, II, p. 109.

[52] Dowden, *Celtic Church*, p. 99.

and those of a subsequent date. All these, together with the Columban foundations in Ireland formed one great family, with Iona as its spiritual centre. The rest of Columba's life was spent in superintending the widely scattered branches of the brotherhood in both countries.

We must pass over the full and touching account which Adamnan gives of the saint's last days, and his death at Iona in the year 597. The story is an oft-told one. It was at midnight, between Saturday the eighth and Sunday the ninth of June, that this great servant of God died in the church, immediately after blessing the assembled monks. Truly he had fought the good fight of faith, and it was with gladness that he entered into his longed-for rest.

Columba's character contained a strange blend of opposing qualities. He had a tender heart, for "both man and bird and beast." He loved the caresses of children,[53] and he would not allow the white pack-horse of the monastery to be driven away when it was trying to shew in rude fashion its affection for him.[54] He caused an exhausted crane which visited the island to be fed and tended, and was once horrified to find that he had blessed a knife which was meant to be used in killing cattle.[55] Once he sent food to an evildoer who had been detected in an attempt to raid the island

[53] *Life*, I, 12. [54] *Ibid.*, III, 24. [55] II, 30.

where the young seals of the monastery were brought forth and nurtured. On the other hand we have those "terrific avengements on his enemies" mentioned by Adamnan,[56] the battles and bloodshed with which he is credited, pointing to a fierce and passionate temperament, which was too apt to boil over on occasion. He once, for instance, prophesied that a certain rich but stingy man, who had shewed contempt for the saint and shewed him no hospitality, would become a beggar along with his son,[57] while others who offended him in other ways were the subjects of still more evil prophecies. Whether his words were fulfilled, as we are assured that they were, is of little consequence. The important thing is that Adamnan was well aware that Columba was not always a "dove-like" person.

Again we see in him a man of affairs, taking an important share in the political affairs of his day, an intrepid and capable missionary, and a ruler of the Church, exercising a wide and potent spiritual influence. At Iona we behold the ascetic, with his bed and pillow of stone;[58] the diligent scribe, now attempting with indifferent success to go on with his writing and to attend to monastery affairs at the same moment,[59] now a little fidgety about his inkhorn, lest it be upset, and the ink be spilt;[60]

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[56] II, 26. [57] II, c. 21. [58] III, c. 24.
[59] II, c. 30. [60] I, c. 19.

and best of all the friend of those in need, to whom men came from all quarters with distresses of body or of soul.

The hymns which are with high probability attributed to Columba shew the simplicity and the directness of his Gospel,[61] and yet he appears to us with something of the aspect of a wizard. Often people came to him as to an oracle to enquire as to their future fortune, and the replies which they received appear always to have been definite enough. The truth seems to be that Columba possessed powers which are usually called uncanny,[62] in a very strong degree, and that this fact lies at the foundation of a good many of Adamnan's miraculous stories.

Of his personal appearance we find little indication. He was, according to Adamnan, angelic in appearance, with a holy gladness ever shining on his face, the result of the joy of the Holy Spirit within him.[63] We may assume the athletic bearing of an island soldier of Christ (*insulanus miles*), and we may, with Dr. Dowden, "perhaps believe that Columba was tall and dignified in bearing, and that he had brilliant eyes, as later authorities aver."[64] His powerful voice is sometimes mentioned as carrying to a considerable distance during the services in church, and its pos-

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[61] See Appendix A. *Hymns attributed to Saint Columba.*
[62] See below p. [63] 2nd Preface. [64] *Celtic Church*, p. 107.

session must have been of considerable importance when preaching the Gospel in the open air.

It is not so easy in these days as it was twenty-five years ago, to brush aside the supernatural. The attitude of many scientific thinkers towards the borderland of human happenings has changed in a remarkable way, and the old materialistic conception of the universe has been greatly spiritualized of recent years. We are not so sure as we used to be that we are very much wiser than our forefathers, in spite of all the strange and wonderful triumphs of modern times. Yet the reader of Adamnan's *Life of Columba,* however sympathetic he may be, will probably find that he must make considerable deductions in deference to common sense and the probabilities of things. In so doing, however, he will be no loser, for he will find that thereby he comes nearer to the real Columba than before.

For instance, it seems clear that Columba possessed in a strong degree that Celtic characteristic known as second sight. This gift is still firmly believed in amongst the highlands and islands of Scotland, and its chief manifestation is held to be the vision of a sign that someone is about to die. Many instances are recorded of Columba's power in this respect, from which we may take the following. One day the saint heard someone shouting across the sound from Mull, as a sign that he wished to be ferried over to the

island, and said, "Much to be pitied is that man who is shouting, who is coming to us to seek some medicines for his body. It were more fitting that he should do real penance for his sins to-day, for at the end of this week he shall die." On his arrival the stranger was told what the saint had said, but he made light of it, and on receiving what he had asked for, quickly departed. Before the end of that week he died, according to the true prophecy of the saint."[66]

It is of course open for anyone to deny the reality of second sight, but on the other hand it is not unreasonable to suppose that this civilization of ours which has robbed us of that keenness of sense and those powers of observation still possessed by savage races, may have also blunted and atrophied in most of us higher powers still, powers which belong to the spiritual side of human nature, and which, in a highly developed spiritual character like that of Columba, may well have had extraordinary manifestations.

Allied to this kind of second sight is what we may call telepathic vision, by which persons, and events that are happening, are discerned at a considerable or even very great distance. However this strange faculty be explained, there is no doubt that it exists, and is from time to time exercised at the present day. Adamnan records many cases

[66] *Life*, I, c. 21.

of this telepathic vision in Columba's life, and there seems no valid reason for rejecting them. The following story, for instance, is remarkably like a strange occurrence which came under the writer's notice a few years ago.

One very cold wintry day the saint was observed by his attendant Diormit to be in great grief and shedding tears. He explained the cause of his sadness thus: "With good reason, my little son, am I sad this hour, seeing my monks, whom Laisran is troubling to build a large house, although they are now wearied with severe labour. This much displeases me." Laisran, Columba's cousin, and afterwards Abbot of Iona, was then at Derry, probably in charge of the monastery there. The story goes on that at that moment he felt a sudden compulsion, and a feeling as if a fire burned within him, so that he stopped the monks' labour and caused refreshments to be prepared for them, ordering them to rest not only that day, but also whenever the weather was severe. All this being perceived by Columba at Iona, he dried his tears and rejoiced, and blessed Laisran for his kindness to the monks."

Columba's own explanation of his conscious experience during these visions is of great psychological interest. We are told that on one occasion Lugbe Mocublai, a monk to whom he had

" *Life*, I, c. 23.

disclosed such a vision, had the boldness to ask the saint how these revelations were made to him, "whether through sight, or by hearing, or by other means unknown to men." Columba, first binding Lugbe to secrecy during his lifetime (*cunctis diebus vitae meae*), gave this reply: "There are some, though very few, on whom divine grace has conferred this gift, that they behold, clearly and most plainly, actually the whole orb of the whole earth, with the circle of sea and sky, at one and the same moment, as if under a single ray of the sun, through the wondrous enlargement of the mind's capacity"[67] (*mirabiliter laxato mentis sinu*).

This is an exceptionally clear statement of that cosmic consciousness which we meet in the lives and writings of great poets and saints. Here is an extract from the life of Tennyson, which may well stand beside Columba's statement to Lugbe:[68] "A kind of waking trance I have frequently had, quite up from boyhood, when I have been all alone. This has generally come upon me through repeating my own name two or three times to myself silently, till all at once, out of the intensity of the consciousness of individuality, the individuality itself seemed to dissolve and fade away into boundless being, and this not a confused

[67] *Life*, I, Chap. XXXV.
[68] *Life of Tennyson*, Vol. I, p. 320.

state, but the clearest of the clearest, the surest of the surest, the weirdest of the weirdest, utterly beyond words, where death was an almost laughable impossibility, the loss of personality (if so it were) seeming no extinction, but the only true life." [69]

With Tennyson's experience we may compare that of St. Augustine in contemplation with his mother. "We did pass step by step through all corporeal things, even heaven itself. Yea we soared higher still by inward musing. . . . And we came to our own minds and passed beyond them that we might touch that region of unfailing richness. . . . We touched it for a moment . . . and we sighed and left there bound the first fruits of the Spirit, and so returned to the sound of our own mouth." And Dante, in the crowning vision of the Light Eternal in the Paradiso,[70] touches the same thought of cosmic consciousness.

> "In its depth I saw there enters,
> Bound with love in one complete whole,
> That which is scattered through the universe,
> Substance and accidents and their fashion,
> As if fused together in such a way
> That that which I tell is one single flash of light."

To return to another class of Adamnan's stories, those in which are related wonderful

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[69] Compare "The Ancient Sage," by the same poet:
"When thou sendest thy free soul through heaven,
Nor understandest bound nor boundlessness."

[70] *Paradiso*, XXXIII, 85.

cures performed by the saint, there is some ground for thinking that Columba had medical skill and knowledge which were remarkable for his time, the successful exercise of which gave rise to tales which did not lose in the telling, as time went on. Without seeking to turn Columba into a medical missionary, we may well suppose that then, as now, some knowledge of medicine and surgery would have been most helpful in forwarding the sacred cause to which his life was devoted, amongst a wild and ignorant people, whose only help in time of sickness was such as the spells and incantations of the Druids afforded. We are not without evidence that this was the case, for in the passage quoted above on page 23 we have the significant information that a man came to Iona to ask from Columba medicine for his body (*aliqua ad carnalia medicamenta petiturus pertinentia*) and that he was medically treated as a matter of course (*acceptis quae poposcerat*). This could hardly have been an isolated instance, and it points both to Columba's medical skill, and to the extent of his medical reputation. To this we may add an account of a cure which has no very miraculous aspect. One day a young man named Lugne came to the saint and complained of a bleeding from the nose from which he had suffered frequently for several months. When he came near, Columba squeezed (*constringens*) both his nostrils with two fingers of his right hand, and

blessed him. The happy result, that the nose of the young man never bled again, is credited by Adamnan to the blessing (*ex qua hora benedictionis*), but we may be pardoned for thinking that something was due to the squeeze, and the physical shock produced thereby.[71]

Once again, the well-known story[72] of how an inquisitive monk (*callidus explorator*) once spied upon the saint in defiance of his prohibition, and saw him surrounded by a multitude of angels, suggests another influence than exaggeration upon the miraculous fame of Columba, viz., the tendency to father local traditions upon a famous person. The spot where Columba was seen standing is called by Adamnan the Hill of the Angels (*Cnoc Angel*) and this name is still locally preserved, but that by which it is familiarly known to this day is *Sithean Mor,* the great fairy hill. This name comes down from a period anterior to the appearance of Christianity in Iona, and tells its own story. There were stories of fairies connected with this place long before Columba's day, and what is more likely than that one of these should have been transferred, by a process which we see illustrated any day in our newspapers, to the name of the illustrious saint, with angels to take the place of fairies.

To which we may add, ere we leave this point,

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[71] *Life*, II, Chap. XVII. [72] *Life*, III, Chap. XVII.

that the best attested of Adamnan's miracles are the least marvellous, and that some of the events recorded may with little difficulty be explained in a natural way. Thus we can well believe that a wild boar which was being hunted in Skye fell down dead at Columba's feet, if we make the simple assumption that it had already been mortally wounded, and the sensational feat performed on Loch Ness of sailing his boat in the teeth of a gale raised by Broichan the Druid may resolve itself into an instance of the saint's skilful navigation, by which he sailed "very close to the wind." [73]

It now remains to treat very briefly of the special features of the Church system of Columba's day. In the first place it was monastic in character. St. Patrick had brought the monastic ideal to Ireland from Gaul, and it was doubtless the most stable and efficient means then possible of extending Christianity among the warring tribes and petty kingdoms of Ireland and Caledonia. Hence the position of the Columban Bishop was a peculiar one. As a rule the head of each monastery was a connection of the chief of the tribe which sheltered it, and Columba's example in remaining a presbyter was followed by most abbots. The bishops were, therefore, often monks subject to the abbot's authority, without anything in the nature of Church jurisdiction. Yet it is clear

[73] Dowden, *Celtic Church*, p. 101.

from the *Life* that a Bishop had always special honour and dignity accorded to him, and that none but he might perform episcopal acts like ordination and consecration. The Columban Church was undeniably "episcopal," presenting a phase of episcopacy strange and anomalous, but not unparalleled in history.

The monastic life was, in all probability, on the same lines as elsewhere in Western Christendom, with its daily round of prayer and praise, its fasts and its festivals,[74] its toils and its relaxations. We may doubt whether Columba promulgated a monastic rule, but it is very likely that the brethren were bound to obedience, chastity, and poverty. The Holy Eucharist seems to have been celebrated on Sundays and festivals and on special occasions, and some if not all of the canonical hours were observed. The season of Lent was kept, and Wednesdays and Fridays were usually observed as fasts. Two peculiarities caused much strife and trouble in later days: the Irish tonsure (which, according to Dr. Dowden, was crescent shaped, with an unshorn fringe in front, leaving also all the hair behind a line drawn from ear to ear), and the Irish method of calculating Easter according to an obsolete cycle. The monastery was enclosed by a rampart (*vallum*), inside which were the abbot's little hut (*tuguri-*

[74] Dowden, *Celtic Church*, Ch. VII.

olum) situated on an eminence by itself, and the dwellings of the monks, as well as the church, refectory, and guest-chambers. Outside were the mill and the kiln, the cowshed, the stable, and the barn.

There is no indication of the number of monks added in Columba's time to his original twelve companions, beyond the fact that the names of something less than thirty are mentioned by Adamnan in different connections. Among these are two Saxons who, whether converted by Columba or not, may be looked upon as the first-fruits of the English nation offered to God.[75] We often hear of Diormit, the saint's personal attendant, and of Baithene, his cousin and successor. The baker was one of the above-mentioned Saxons, the gardener was called Laisrean, and the farm overseer Baithen. Lugaid was the abbot's messenger, and Libran of the rush-ground probably had to provide the ancient substitute for carpets. From these indications we may gather that there was a careful and systematic apportionment of duties, according to each man's capacity. We meet the brethren coming home tired from the harvest field, we see them gathering wood for building purposes, and (in Derry) building a house. Often they are fishing with the net, often sailing the day's journey to Ireland. At other times

[75] Grub, *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, I, 60.

they are reading or writing or engaged in devotion. In Iona it is evident that there was no room for sluggards.

Outwardly the circumstances of life in Iona may have seemed humble enough, but its inner power reached far and wide. Well might Columba, as he looked around him, have burst into his famous prophecy, so strikingly fulfilled in the history of Iona: "To this place, cramped though it be and mean, not only kings of the Scots with their peoples, but also rulers of barbarous and foreign nations with their subjects shall bring great and uncommon honour; by the saints also of other Churches unusual reverence shall be paid." [76]

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[76] *Life*, III, 24.

II.—THE TRANSITION FROM CELTIC TO ROMAN INFLUENCE

Saint Margaret

Queen of Scotland from 1068 to 1093 A.D.

A period of more than four and a half centuries intervenes between the death of Columba and the arrival in Scotland of the Saxon princess Margaret, with whose coming a new era opens in the life of the Scottish Church and nation. The history of this long stretch of time is but dimly illuminated for us. We can discern figures and developments here and there, and it is possible to piece together the fragmentary facts which have escaped oblivion, into the outline of a story. But no real and living picture is available until we come to the biographical sketch of the life of St. Margaret, which, in the words of Bishop A. P. Forbes, "supplies us with the first really authentic history of Scotland after the notices in Adamnan and Baeda, the Pictish Chronicle and the Book of Deer." [1]

Great changes had assuredly taken place both in the political and in the ecclesiastical features

[1] *Kalendars of Scottish Saints*, p. 388.

ST. MARGARET AND MALCOLM CANMORE
Picture by the late Sir Noel Paton

II. THE TRANSITION FR[illegible] TO ROMAN INFL[illegible]

S[illegible] M[illegible]

Queen of Scotland [illegible]

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[1] *Early Lives of Scottish Saints*, p. [illegible]

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ST. MARGARET AND MALCOLM CANMORE
Picture by the late Sir Noel Paton

UNIV. OF
CALIFORNIA

of Scotland, by the time of the Norman Conquest. The petty kingdoms of Columba's day had been gradually welded into something like a nation under the rule of one sovereign. In the middle of the ninth century, Kenneth Macalpine of Kintyre, a Scot on his father's side, and on his mother's apparently a Pict, had succeeded in uniting Picts and Scots into one kingdom. His successors in turn enlarged the borders of this Picto-Scottish dominion in the course of long wars with Scandinavian settlers in the north and west, and with Britons and English on the south. The cession of English Lothian, and a matrimonial alliance with the ruler of Strathclyde eventually completed the unifying process, and before the time that Malcolm Canmore, the son of the murdered Duncan, ascended his throne, the kingdom of Scotland, loosely cemented as it necessarily was, may be described as at least a nominally accomplished fact.

The ecclesiastical changes had been equally striking. The glory of Iona had risen to its supreme splendour, and then all but passed away. For more than two centuries Columba's settlement at Hy had possessed an unique position and influence in the Celtic Church. The great family (*muintir*) of Columban communities in Scotland and Ireland looked up to the abbot of Iona as its spiritual head, for he was the heir (*co-arb*) of Columkille. Irish kings lived and died in the

island as simple monks, and when a second Iona was founded at the island of Lindisfarne, off the coast of Northumbria, by St. Aidan and other devoted missionaries, a great spiritual harvest was reaped in England. Then came days of waning influence and of disaster. The Northumbrian mission ceased after the triumph of Roman principles at the Synod of Whitby (664), the monastery in Iona was ravaged again and again by Danish pirates, the Columban monks were banished from Pictland as a result of the Easter controversy, the chief seat of the Columban order was transferred to Kells in Ireland for security, and when Kenneth Macalpine united the Picts and the Scots, he transferred the chief seat of ecclesiastical influence in Scotland to Dunkeld.

Yet the fame and sanctity of Iona were remembered, although its authority had so greatly waned. The monks clung to the island in spite of ravage and martyrdom, and Iona became the Westminster Abbey of Scotland for the next two centuries. There, according to the ancient chronicles, all the kings of Scotland except four, from Kenneth Macalpine until the time of Malcolm Canmore, were buried. The little cemetery called *Reilig Odhrain* is thus one of the most interesting historical spots in Scotland. There the dust of Shakespeare's Duncan mingles with that of his murderer Macbeth, and the indistinguishable remains of many of the makers of Scotland lie

together without scroll or monument, under the canopy of the open sky, with the ceaseless sound of the western waves for their requiem.[3]

We are groping in the dark when we try to trace the history of the Church in Scotland generally during this period. A scanty outline is all that we can discern. Bishops again appear in their regular position as the rulers of the Church. The primacy is transferred from Dunkeld, first perhaps to Abernethy, and finally to St. Andrews. The order of the Culdees, about which so much has been written, appears and rises to influence. The possessions of the Church become considerable enough to excite the cupidity of laymen, who usurp not only property but also titles and dignities belonging to the spiritual order.[3] With the loss of the old fervour and the noble ideals inspired by Columba, there gradually sets in a general decay of religion. Laxity displaces ascetic discipline as love grows cold, and irregularities of different kinds abound. Had we more light, this picture of Celtic Christianity in its final stage might be a less depressing one.[4] But such as it is, it reveals the Scottish Church at a very low

[3] Trenholme, *Story of Iona*, p. 125.

[3] This sacrilege was, therefore, not a mere growth of the later age, when Stuarts were kings.

[4] Margaret's biographer, it should be remembered, writes with the bias of an inveterate Angliciser, who could see nothing good in the Celtic system.

ebb, awaiting a rescuer to save it from further degeneration.

The saviour whom God, in His providence, raised up at this critical period was a woman, of alien birth and training, the descendant of a long line of Saxon kings, and the flower of English womanhood. Cast upon the shores of Scotland like wreckage from the storm of the Conquest, she found in her new home a great task awaiting her, from which it was but natural that she should at first shrink. The seclusion and safety of the convent seemed more attractive to the exiled and disinherited princess, than the dubious splendour of a seat upon the throne of the fierce warrior, Malcolm of the Big Head, among a people who must have seemed to her so rude and barbarous. But when at last she yielded to the wishes of her ardent suitor, and became the Queen of Scotland, it was, as the account of her life shews, in the most lofty spirit of devotion to duty, and with the most whole-hearted intention of working for the highest welfare of her husband and of her adopted country.

Not that one frail woman, however holy and devoted, could alone have so profoundly affected the life of Scotland as Margaret is said to have done. She came on the crest of a wave of new influence, which was of the most powerful character, and which ultimately changed the whole face of Scotland. In her temperament and aims were

epitomized the characteristics of the new Saxon movement in Scotland, which the Norman Conquest shaped into being. Until that event the Celtic element in Scotland reigned supreme, while English Lothian, between the Forth and the Tweed, had to be content with a slowly growing influence. But now settlers from England, great and small, came pouring over the border to escape the dominion of the Conqueror, and bringing with them other customs and ideals than those which hitherto had held sway in Scotland. During the joint reign of Malcolm and Margaret we see a determined struggle for supremacy being waged between the representatives of Saxon and of Celtic traditions, a struggle which was not decisively settled during their lifetime, as the Celtic reaction which took place after Malcolm's death clearly shews.

The *Life of St. Margaret* has been described above as a biographical sketch, and this it is rather than a biography in the proper sense of the word. The author could not have missed feeling that his task had its delicate features. Writing as he did at Durham, he was aware that the local memories of Malcolm were mainly of a gruesome order.[1] Yet he wrote at the command of an English queen who would not relish such things being told of her father. Hence he preferred not to paint in the

[1] See Symeon of Durham's *History*.

historical and political background of his picture. Not a single date does he give from beginning to end, and much information that would have been of great value is carefully withheld. The writer has been often accused of exaggerating the virtues of the saintly queen, but his fault seems one of omission rather than exaggeration. It was perhaps natural enough under the circumstances that he should fail to suggest the existence in Margaret's character of any of those flaws to which every son and every daughter of man is subject. These, however, we can each easily supply according to our tastes and powers of imagination. And we need not complain overmuch if a dim, religious light pervades this narrative, which, as far as it goes, bears the stamp of truth and simplicity.

It is not quite certain who the author was. Many authorities accept the testimony of John of Fordun and others to the effect that he was Turgot, at one time Prior of Durham, and subsequently Bishop of St. Andrews (1109-1115), but the evidence yielded by the manuscript copies of the *Life* is somewhat perplexing.[*] At any rate he was someone who possessed excellent first-hand information, and who wrote his narrative within fourteen years of Margaret's death.

The author describes himself as the servant

[*] See Appendix B. *Date and Authorship of St. Margaret's Life.*

of the servants of St. Cuthbert, and claims to have had an intimate knowledge of Margaret's inner life which no one but her confessor was likely to have obtained. "You tell me," he says in the dedication to Queen Matilda, "that I am worthy of special trust in this task, for you have heard that I, by reason of great intimacy (*familiaritas*) with her, was possessed of a knowledge of her secrets to a considerable extent (*magna ex parte*)." Elsewhere he speaks of his knowledge of her conscience, as revealed to him by herself,[7] and tells how, at the premonition of her approaching death she told him in secret the history of her whole life, shedding floods of tears as she spoke.[8] In addition to his other embarrassments, therefore, our author had in all probability to observe the reticence imposed by the seal of confession with respect to matters about which he might otherwise have written with comparative freedom.

For the rest we learn that he was an old man at the time of writing,[9] that for a considerable time he had been, by Margaret's orders, the custodian of the sacred vessels of the altar in the royal church at Dunfermline,[10] and that he often had to weary himself in book-hunting expeditions, to gratify the keen and pious desire of his beloved mistress, to possess copies of the sacred volumes.[11]

[7] Ch. III, 17. [8] Ch. IV, 25.
[9] *Procul sit a mea canitie.* Prologue 2.
[10] Ch. I, 7. [11] Ch.II, 10.

He deplores his lack of ability for the task of writing Margaret's life, but his Latin abounds with ambitious little graces and conceits which shew that this consideration did not weigh heavily on his mind.

Whoever the author was, he possessed one excellent quality, a sincere love of truth. Unlike the writer of the *Brevis Chronica,*[17] some five hundred years later, who declares that Margaret "kythit mony miraclis," this contemporary witness bluntly tells us there were none. It is quite refreshing to read such sentiments as these, from an ecclesiastical biographer of the beginning of the twelfth century: "Let others wonder at the signs of miracles in other persons, I in Margaret much rather admire the works of mercy, for signs are common to the good and the bad, but works of true piety and charity belong only to the good. The former sometimes disclose holiness, the latter also make it. Let us admire, I say—and more worthily—the deeds in Margaret which made her a saint, rather than the signs, if she had performed any,[18] which would only shew a saint to men. We may more worthily wonder at her, in whom, by her zeal for justice, piety, mercy, and love, we con-

[17] *Historians of Scotland,* Vol. IX, p. 322.

[18] Ch. III, 24. *Signa, si aliqua fecisset.* Mr. Forbes Leith's rendering, "which, had we any record of them," is slightly misleading. (*Life of St. Margaret,* p. 66.)

template the deeds of the ancient fathers rather than their signs."

One event, indeed, he relates which he thinks might be described as relevant in the way of proof of her holy life. A book of the Gospels which she valued more highly than the other books which she used to read, was one day dropped into a river through carelessness by someone while he was crossing a ford. It was a beautiful book, adorned with gems and gold, and decorated with gilded pictures of the four Evangelists, every capital letter being brilliant with gold. The bearer proceeded on his way, and only discovered his loss when he wished to produce the book. Search was made for a long time without success, but at last it was found lying open at the bottom of the river, its leaves being stirred all the time by the rush of the water, and the little bits of silk that protected the gilded letters having been washed away. Yet it was rescued from its watery bed unharmed, its leaves white as before, and the form of its letters unaltered, except in a part of the last leaves, where hardly any sign of wet could be seen.[14]

The real interest of this story lies in the recent discovery of a book which is believed, with good reason, to be the very one referred to. In July, 1887, the authorities of the Bodleian Library of Oxford purchased for £6 a small manuscript book

[14] Ch. III, 25.

containing the liturgical Gospels, which on examination was found to belong to the eleventh century, and to contain upon the fly-leaf a poem in Latin hexameters, describing how this very volume had passed through the same experience as that above related. The book answers to the description in the *Life,* and the poem ends with the words, "May the King and the pious Queen be saved for ever, whose book was but now saved from the waves." Thus there is no reasonable doubt that St. Margaret's Gospel Book is now one of the treasures of the great Oxford library.[15]

Margaret was the daughter of the English Ætheling Edward, whose brave and vigourous father, Edmund Ironside, had for a short time succeeded in stemming the tide of Danish aggression, and in dividing the kingship of England with Canute. When the death of Ironside removed Canute's rival after a reign of a few months, the Danish monarch sent his two sons, the little Æthelings Edward and Edmund abroad, whether, as Symeon of Durham asserts,[16] that they might be put to death outside of England, or, as is probable, for more humane reasons. The young exiles spent some time in Sweden, and afterwards were sent on to be cared for by St. Stephen, King of Hungary. There they grew up, and in course of

[15] Dowden, *Celtic Church in Scotland,* p. 331.
[16] *Historia Regum,* § 130.

time Edmund died, while Edward married a noble lady named Agatha, as to whose antecedents there is some mystery. Had she been, as Symeon declares, the daughter of Henry, the German Emperor, we should have expected to find some reference to the fact in Margaret's *Life*.

The children of this marriage, Margaret, Christina, and Edgar the Ætheling, thus spent their young days at the court of Hungary, but after Edward the Confessor, the half-brother of Edmund Ironside, succeeded to the throne of his fathers, the exiled family returned to England. At Edward's court another exile had found refuge, the Scottish prince Malcolm, who fled to England after his father's death. Thus it seems extremely probable that the future king and queen of Scotland knew one another long before their lives were united. Freeman even suggests that they may have been betrothed in the Confessor's time,[17] but the evidence which he produces is hardly convincing, and Malcolm's first marriage with Ingibiorg stands somewhat in the way of such a betrothal.

Malcolm in due course left England to fight for the Scottish crown, and proved his valour by overthrowing and slaying Macbeth in 1057 at Lumphanan, in the Deeside district of Aberdeenshire. His first marriage, which took place a few

[17] *Norman Conquest*, IV, p. 508.

years[18] after this event, was in all likelihood an affair of policy rather than of affection. Curiously enough it is not in the historical literature of Scotland or England that this event is recorded, but in that of Iceland. In the *Orkneyinga Saga* we meet the following reference: "Ingibiörg, the mother of the Earls, was married to Malcolm, King of Scots, who was called Langhals (Longneck), and their son was Duncan, King of Scots, the father of William, the excellent man: His son was called William Odling (the noble), whom all the Scots wished to have for their king." [19]

Ingibiörg was the widow of Thorfinn, the redoubtable Earl of Orkney whom his cousin Duncan, Canmore's father, had utterly failed to subdue, and who died in 1064. Ingibiörg, in the words of the editor of the *Saga,* must have been old enough to be Malcolm's mother,[20] and her union with Malcolm was of short duration. Its effect, however, seems to have been such as the king desired, in rendering the northern portion of his kingdom more loyal to his own person than it had been to any of those who reigned in Scotland before him.

The offspring of this union, Duncan, reigned over Scotland for six months during the political

[18] Not less than seven.

[19] *The Orkneyinga Saga,* Chap. XXIII, p. 45. (Edited by Joseph Anderson. Edinburgh, Edmonston & Douglas, 1873.)

[20] *Ibid.,* p. 46.

turmoils that followed the death of Malcolm. He is represented by the Scottish historians as a bastard, and this has been considered by some to point to a divorce on the ground of consanguinity, as the termination of Malcolm's first marriage. But we have no information on this point, and it is hardly likely that a lady of Margaret's scrupulously pious character would have become Malcolm's second wife under such circumstances.[21]

When William the Conqueror overthrew Harold at the battle of Hastings in 1066, Malcolm's sympathies naturally went out to the dynasty of the Confessor, who had been his friend and protector of old. Edgar the Æheling was proclaimed King of England, and the Scottish King promised to send an army in support of his cause. The attempt, however, came to grief before Malcolm could make his promise good, and eventually Edgar, with his mother Agatha, his sisters Margaret and Christina, and several of the English nobility, sought refuge at the court of the Scottish King. The exact date of their flight, and of the marriage of Margaret, cannot be ascertained, for the evidence on these points is contradictory. It is not even clear whether the royal exiles did not flee to Scotland more than once and return again to

[21] Yet a declaration of Malcolm's former marriage as null *ab initio*, as would have been the case for consanguinity, might not have been looked upon as discreditable by Margaret's advisers in those days.

England, before Margaret's final settlement in her new home.[22] Somewhere, however, between the years 1067 and 1070 it is certain that that settlement took place.

Symeon of Durham paints a stern picture of the circumstances in which Margaret met her future husband. The exiles were at Wearmouth, near Durham, waiting with a few ships for a favourable wind to carry them to Scotland, when Malcolm approached at the head of a large army, laying waste the country without mercy. In the lands of St. Cuthbert every one lost all his possessions, and some were slain. At Wearmouth the Church of St. Peter was burned while Malcolm looked on, and other churches were consumed with the unfortunate wretches who had sought safety within them. Symeon always represents Malcolm as a monster of cruelty, and we can only hope that his descriptions are exaggerated. He goes on to say that Malcolm was riding about the banks of the river Wear, feasting eyes and mind upon the sight of the cruelties that his men were inflicting on the miserable English, when news was brought to him that Edgar and his royal sisters and several others of exalted rank had sailed into the harbour as exiles. Despite the cruel nature of his work, the Scottish King received the refugees kindly. He gave them his right hand, and spoke

[22] Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, IV, pp. 195, 243, and 506.

words of friendship, promising them and theirs a peaceful dwelling place in his kingdom as long as they might wish[23]. So the exiles passed on to Scotland, leaving Malcolm to harry the country still more fiercely.

The town of Dunfermline, where the Scottish court was then situated,[24] is perhaps now best known as a prosperous centre of linen manufacture. Yet it has happily escaped the fate of becoming so modernized as to lose all traces of its early history. In the beautiful Pittencrieff Glen one may still wander among scenes that were familiar to Malcolm and Margaret. The remains of Malcolm's Tower are still visible upon a steep peninsular crag, overlooking the stream which flows down the glen, and a hundred yards or so in front stands the Abbey Church with its venerable nave, on the site where the royal pair erected the Church of the Holy Trinity as a memorial of their marriage. The impressive ruins of the monastery and of the royal palace, which lie close at hand, belong to a later date, but the little cave of St. Margaret, situated about 290 yards up the stream, may well have been a retreat used by the Queen for purposes of devotion.

Margaret, as we have seen, was at first un-

[23] *Historia Regum*, A. D. 1070, p. 190.

[24] Quite at the south of Celtic Scotland, and within a few miles of the river Forth, the dividing line between Saxon and Celt.

willing to become Malcolm's wife, and it was more owing to the wishes of her relations than of herself that at last she consented.[25] The marriage was celebrated at Dunfermline by Fothad, the Celtic Bishop of St. Andrews,[26] and its subsequent happiness soon belied the bride's hesitancy. The complete and touching devotion of the warrior husband, the sweet and uplifting influence of the gentle wife, and their thorough union in all good works furnish to all time a beautiful picture of what a wedded life may be.

If Malcolm's Tower represented the whole extent of the royal residence at Dunfermline,[27] Margaret's first establishment as Queen of Scotland must have been a modest one indeed. Owing to the nature of the site it is certain that the dimensions of this building were exceedingly small, hardly sufficient indeed for the requirements of the tiniest of modern shooting boxes. But the young bride, with her recollections of Hungary and of England, had her own ideas of what a king's court should be, and we may feel assured that she did not long delay in seeing them put into practice. She rendered, we are told,[28] the magnifi-

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[25] *Life, Chap. I,* 6. Pinkerton's edition.

[26] Grub, Vol. I, p. 190.

[27] Malcolm had a hunting seat, of which ruins still exist, at Castleton of Braemar, in the Deeside Highlands, and it was in Edinburgh Castle that Margaret died.

[28] *Life,* II, 11.

cence of the king's royal splendour much more magnificent, and also greatly raised the standard of outward dignity among the nobles and their dependants. She brought it about that foreign traders came to Scotland by land and sea, who introduced many precious wares which till then were unknown in the land, such as garments of various colours and ornaments of apparel. These latter, it would seem, she even took care that the ladies among her new subjects should purchase,[28] so that new fashions in dress abounded, with the happiest of results in the appearance of the wearers.

With the same end in view Margaret reconstituted the arrangements for attendance on the King. Wherever he went, whether walking or riding, there now attended to do him honour a large retinue, so strictly disciplined that none dared to rob anyone on the way, nor to oppress or hurt the country people or the poor. Finally, we are told, that she greatly increased the embellishments (*ornamenta*) of the royal palace. It was bright with hangings (*palliorum*) of varied beauty, and the whole house (*domus*) shone with gold and silver. At this point, however, our biographer's conscience seems to have pricked him, for he goes on to explain that the last mentioned splendour was due to the fact that the vessels in which food and drink were served to the King and his nobles

[28] *compellente Regina.*

were either of gold or silver, or else gilt or silver-plated.

It is abundantly clear that Margaret's efforts to improve the character of her surroundings, and to increase her husband's royal dignity, were not inspired by any love of worldly display for its own sake, but resulted from her enlightened sense of duty. We can easily imagine in how many respects the rude and half-civilized manners of her adopted country would grate upon Margaret's sense of fitness, and how naturally one gifted with her genius for management would set herself to improve matters. Yet her personal humility was profound and sincere. When she walked adorned with costly raiment, as a queen should, she, like another Esther, trod in heart all her trappings under foot, and remembered that she beneath her gems and gold was only dust and ashes.[20] She continually kept in her mind some of those solemn words of Scripture which speak of the frailty and the shortness of human life,[21] and often she would ask the writer of the *Life* to rebuke her in private without hesitation, whenever he noticed anything blameworthy in her words or actions. She would even take her spiritual adviser to task on occasion (*importunam se mihi ingerebat*) if she thought that he was performing his duty of censor less fre-

[20] *Life*, II, 12.

[21] Like Job xiv, 1 and 2; St. Jas. iv, 14.

quently and more gently than was necessary, so keenly was she set upon growth in grace before all things.

Soon after Margaret became Queen she built, we are told, a noble church in the place where her marriage had been celebrated, in honour of the Holy Trinity, and as an eternal monument of her name and of her piety. The epithets "noble" and "eternal" suggest a building both beautiful and substantial, but architectural considerations forbid us to conclude that the venerable and impressive nave of the Abbey Church, which still stands with its massive columns and its general structure so reminiscent of Durham Cathedral, is the very church which Malcolm and Margaret built and in which they worshipped.[32] It probably stood upon the site which was afterwards occupied by the choir built in the thirteenth century.

An interesting letter[33] of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Margaret, which has survived the ravages of time, may perhaps be connected with the building of the royal church. Lanfranc mentions that he is sending, as requested, the monk Goldewin to perform some service to the royal pair, and that two other brethren accompany him.

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[32] MacGibbon & Ross. *Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland from the Earliest Christian Times to the Seventeenth Century.* (Edinburgh, Douglas, 1896.) Vol. I, p. 231.

[33] Translated in Appendix C.

The work, whatever it is, has been already begun "for the sake of God and of your souls." The absence of the monks from Canterbury is highly inconvenient, and Lanfranc hopes that they may soon be sent back, if others can be found to complete the work in Scotland. This work is usually connected with Margaret's efforts to reform the manners of the Scots and the customs of the Celtic Church,[34] but the above-quoted phrase, "for the sake of God and of your souls," suggests a connection with the statement in the *Life*[35] that the threefold purpose for which the church was built was the redemption of the souls of Malcolm and Margaret, and the welfare of their offspring in the present life and in that which is to come. However this may be, [35] the letter throws a curious light upon Lanfranc's relations with Scotland. It seems strange that Margaret had asked the right-hand man of the Conqueror who had dispossessed her brother of the throne of England to become her spiritual father. Such a request was very welcome to one with the political and ecclesiastical aims of the great Archbishop, while it reveals the strength of Margaret's desire to bring Southron influences to bear upon the Scottish Church.

Margaret's chronicler takes occasion, as the ex-

[34] I, 7.

[35] Enquiry at the Lambeth library has failed to elicit any evidence that Goldewin was an architect, or that he was employed in any of Lanfranc's building schemes.

sacristan of Dunfermline Church might well do, to record the Queen's gifts of vessels of solid gold for the sacred service of the altar, as well as a priceless crucifix covered with gold and silver and gems, and other decorative gifts. Various other churches were similarly adorned by her bounty, as for instance the Church of St. Andrews, where a very beautiful crucifix at the time when the *Life* was written bore witness to Margaret's devotion and faith. Her chamber was, we are told, like a workshop of sacred handicraft, for it never lacked a supply of cantor's copes, chasubles, stoles, altar coverings, and other priestly vestments and church ornaments, some in course of being made, and others already finished for the admiration of beholders.[36]

These works were entrusted to noble ladies of discreet manners, to whom Margaret herself had doubtless taught the secrets of that exquisite embroidery, the *Opus Anglicum*, for which the ladies of England were so famous. A fitting atmosphere, we are assured, pervaded the chamber while the ladies worked. No men were allowed to enter unless, as sometimes happened, the Queen brought them with her. There was no unbecoming familiarity allowed with men, nor any saucy levity, for the Queen was as strict as she was sweet, and inspired fear as well as love. Our

[36] *Life*, I, 7.

worthy chronicler draws a truly monkish picture of an eleventh century work-party, but after all he, being a man, would have been but rarely there to see.

Other religious benefactions by the Queen of a more substantial character are recorded. For the convenience of devout persons journeying to the Church of St. Andrews, which, it is interesting to learn, was a place of pilgrimage in the eleventh century, she erected hostels on either side of "the sea which divides Lothian from Scotland." The names of North and South Queensferry, at either end of the great railway bridge which now spans the Forth, still commemorate this act of pious hospitality, by which the stranger and the poor found shelter, food, and ferry, without the payment of fee or reward. Ordericus Vitalis also records the fact that Iona benefitted by Margaret's munificence, for she restored the monastery buildings there which had fallen into ruin through the ravages of war and of time, and bestowed upon the monks sufficient means to enable them to carry on the Lord's work.[87] The tiny chapel which stands on the summit of Edinburgh Castle rock is popularly regarded as the oratory which St. Margaret used when in residence there, and there is something to be said for the view that parts of it date from

[87] Grub, I, p. 193.

her time, notwithstanding subsequent alterations.[38]

Malcolm is associated with his wife in the record of a grant of lands to the Culdees of Lochleven, and it is due to the King's memory to add that there is some reason to believe that he founded the bishopric of Mortlach,[39] the beginning of the see of Aberdeen, in the sixth year of his reign, and therefore before his marriage with Margaret. The Church of Monymusk in Aberdeenshire is also believed to have been founded by Malcolm, when encamped there on a warlike expedition.

Of Margaret's public activities there seems to have been no end. Everything, we are told, which it was fitting for the prudent queen to order, was under her control. The laws of the realm were codified[40] by her counsel, the influence of religion was extended and the prosperity of the nation increased by her labours. Amongst these labours was the institution of frequent councils, whose object was the suppression of various Celtic customs which appeared to her to be contrary to the rule of right faith, and the sacred use of the Universal Church.[41]

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[38] Mac Gibbon & Ross (Vol. I, p. 230) do not think that the Chapel was erected in the eleventh century.

[39] Grub, I, 193. The evidence, however, is of doubtful authority.

[40] Or perhaps even administered. The Latin is *disponebantur*. I, 6.

[41] By this time people had begun to forget the East, and the existence of Gallican customs in the West.

Reasons have been given above for believing that Lanfranc's letter to Margaret may not refer to these councils, but there is no reason to doubt that the English Archbishop was the prime cause of their being held. Lanfranc, an Italian by birth, a lawyer of the Empire, and a devotee of the Papacy,[42] was hardly less devoted to the interests of the Conqueror than to those of the Pope. His correspondence with Irish kings and Bishops reveals a policy on his part of bringing Ireland into closer ecclesiastical touch with England, with a view doubtless to its peaceful political absorption by William when the proper time came.[43] This policy could not have failed to embrace Scotland also, which was bound to England by closer ties still.[44] Lanfranc exhorts his correspondents in Ireland to reform various abuses, especially with regard to marriage and divorce, and in a letter to Terdelvagus or Terence, King of Ireland, he even urges the holding of a council of Bishops and religious men, at which the king and his nobility should be present, in order to exterminate the evil customs to which he refers.[45] Had the Archbishop's Scottish correspondence been equally well

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[42] Freeman, IV, p. 440. [43] *Ibid.*, pp. 526-530.

[44] Malcolm seems to have rendered feudal submission of some kind to William on two separate occasions, at York and at Abernethy: *Ibid.*, pp. 206 and 517.

[45] Migne, *Patr. Lat.* Vol. CL, *Epistle* 38. *Cf.* also *Epistles* 33, 36, and 37.

preserved, there is every reason to suppose that we should find evidence that the idea of Margaret's councils came from him.

A description is given of the chief of these gatherings, which lasted three days. The queen was assisted in her combat against the upholders of "perverse" usage only by a very few friends, but the chair was occupied by her husband, who, knowing both Gaelic and English perfectly, acted as interpreter, and who was, we are significantly told, fully prepared to say and do whatever she ordered in the matter at issue.[46] We can easily suppose that in such circumstances the queen's arguments proved irresistible, although there is reason to believe that the resultant reforms were not so complete as they are represented to have been.

The first point of discussion was the usage of beginning Lent not on Ash Wednesday, but on the Monday following. Margaret may be pardoned for not knowing that this was simply an ancient usage of Western Christendom. It is followed to this day in the Church of St. Ambrose at Milan, although in the queen's eyes it was "a novel and foreign institution." A more serious matter was the non-reception of the Eucharist on Easter Day. The arguments used on both sides seem to make it clear that laymen had largely ceased to com-

[46] *Life*, II, 13.

municate at all, whether at Easter or at any other time, except perhaps at the hour of death. A third point was the celebration of Masses in some places in Scotland with some barbarous rite or other, which contravened the usage of the whole Church. We would nowadays give something to know wherein these Celtic peculiarities precisely consisted,[47] but details of such a kind had unfortunately no interest for Margaret's biographer. Again, we learn that it was customary to carry on worldly business upon the Lord's Day as on other days, and that the queen successfully urged that Sunday was to be reverenced on account of our Lord's Resurrection, quoting as she did Pope Gregory in support of her contention. After this no one dared either to carry a burden himself on these days or to compel another to do so.

Last of all, the royal disputant dealt with some of the moral questions which arose out of the lax matrimonial customs of Scotland. It had been customary for a man to marry his stepmother, and for a surviving brother to take to wife the widow of his deceased brother. Lanfranc's Irish correspondence shows that similar divorce customs obtained in Ireland, but Margaret's passionate denunciation of such evils resulted in their suppression in Scotland. Various other unspecified

[47] The "barbarous rite" was probably the old Gallican Mass, degenerate and badly done.

abuses, contrary to the rule of faith and the institutions and observances of the Church, were condemned and banished from the realm.

This account of Margaret's activities as Queen of Scotland reveals a character that was remarkable in many respects. Few departments of public life seem to have been left untouched by her energy, and everywhere she left such a mark as only a very good and very capable woman could. When we turn to the account of her private life, the accuracy of which there seems no good reason to question, a still deeper impression is made upon the mind.

Her biographer calls her, with reference to her name, a pearl, precious in faith and works, now removed from the dunghill of this world to her place among the jewels of the Eternal King. From her youth she had been remarked for the seriousness of her character, which led her to love God above all things, and to find delight in the study of Divine Scripture. She possessed, we are told, many natural gifts, a keen and subtle intelligence, a very retentive memory, and a faculty of graceful utterance.[48] Her conversation was instinct with wisdom, her sensitiveness was often revealed by her tears, her manners were staid and well-balanced, and her affability and her prudence

[48] *Life*, I, 6. Lanfranc, in his letter, compliments the Queen upon her gifts as a letter-writer.

were affectionately remembered by her biographer.[49] Even when she was joyful she never broke into laughter, nor when she was angry did she give way to fury.[50] When sometimes she rebuked the faults of others—her own she always chid—she followed the precept of the Psalmist, "Be ye angry and sin not."

Margaret's personal habits of devotion, and the austerities which she practised seemed even in the eyes of her confessor to be remarkable. "Beyond all mortals whom I now know," he says, "she was zealously devoted to prayers and fastings, to works of mercy and almsgiving."[51] In church she was extremely still, so wrapt was she in prayer. Never would she speak, when in God's house, on any worldly matter, but her custom was only to pray, and as she prayed to pour forth her tears. As to her fasts, she brought on herself a very severe complaint by excessive abstinence.

Her passion for almsgiving was never satisfied. She would have given to the poor, we are told, not only what she possessed, but herself if she could. Out of doors she was attended by crowds of poor people, orphans, and widows, who never went away empty. After she had distributed what she had brought with her for the needy, she would borrow from her rich companions or her servants, garments or whatever they

[49] *Life*, I, 1. [50] *Life*, I, 8. [51] *Life*, III, 18.

had, always taking care to repay these loans twice over. Sometimes she would even pillage the king's private property for the same purpose, a proceeding which he regarded with complete equanimity. Even when he caught her, as he did sometimes, in the act of robbing the store of gold coins which were kept ready for the royal offering on Maundy Thursday and at Mass, he would joke with his fair culprit on her crime.[52]

The forty days before Christmas, and the season of Lent were marked in a special way. The queen's custom during these periods was to rest for a little in the beginning of the night, after which she went into the church. There alone she said the Matins of the Holy Trinity, then the Matins of the Holy Cross, and lastly those of the Blessed Mary. After this she went through the Offices of the Dead, and then she recited the "Psalter." [53] When the proper hour came for the priests to say the morning Lauds (*matutinas Laudes*) she meanwhile finished the Psalter which she had begun, or if she had completed it, began its recitation a second time. This service ended, she went to her chamber and along with the king washed the feet of six poor persons, collected by

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[52] *Life*, III, 18.

[53] The word "Psalterium" sometimes meant the seven Penitential Psalms. Dowden, ***Mediaeval Church in Scotland***, p. 84.

her chamberlain, and gave them alms. Then at last she went to take some rest and sleep."[54]

In the morning she rose and betook herself to prayer and the reading of the Psalms, intermingled with further works of mercy. Nine destitute orphan children were brought in at the first hour of the day, and fed with soft food such as infants like. The queen would take them on her knees, and feed them with her own spoon. Three hundred people were meanwhile assembled in the royal hall, and seated round it in order. Then the king and the queen entered with the chaplains and a few others, and waited upon Christ in the person of His poor, the king on one side and the queen upon the other.

The queen then used to return to church for further devotion. We are told that on holy days, in addition to the Hours of the Holy Trinity, the Holy Cross and Holy Mary, she recited the "Psalter" twice or even thrice in the space of a day and a night, and that before the celebration of the public Mass, and she caused five or six private Masses to be sung in her presence. In conclusion, before her own repast was served, she humbly ministered to the wants of twenty-four poor people, who by her orders lived in the neighbourhood, and accompanied her on all her journeys. In this meal she hardly allowed herself

[54] III, 21.

the necessities of life. Her whole life was indeed marked with self-denial, but at these seasons of Lent and Advent her abstinence was incredible, and brought on a painful disorder of the stomach, from which she suffered until the end of her life.[55] It is doubtless easy to criticise Margaret's type of piety, as many have done, but critics would do well to ask themselves first whether they possess such a sense of moral and spiritual superiority over the good queen, as to make it worth their while.

Like a good mother, Margaret bestowed much care in the upbringing of her children. She would not allow their royal birth to shield them from the due punishment of their faults of conduct, believing as she did that whoso spares the rod hates his child. As a result of her care, her children grew up distinguished both for good behaviour and for reverence in church. In after life they all, with one exception, did every credit to their mother's loving care. Three of her six sons—Edgar, Alexander, and David—became kings of Scotland, whose influence on the nation and on the Church was all for good, and of her two daughters one was Matilda, the good Queen Maude of England.

Malcolm's devotion to his saintly wife was most beautiful, and under her influence his fierce character was greatly softened and elevated. He became attentive to works of justice, mercy, and

[55] *Life*, III, 23.

almsgiving, and other virtues. He learnt to keep night vigils and to pray to God with heartfelt groanings and tears. "I was astonished, I confess," says the biographer, "at the great miracle of God's mercy, when I perceived in the king at times such earnestness in prayer, and in the heart of a man living in the world such compunction for sin. There was in him a sort of dread of offending one whose life was so worthy of veneration, for he saw that Christ in very deed dwelt within her; yea, he hastened to obey in all things her wishes and wise counsels." [66]

In the Town Hall of Dunfermline there hangs a fine picture, painted by the late Sir Noel Paton, which illustrates the words of the biography. Margaret and Malcolm are sitting in a beautiful nook in the glen, studying together the Scriptures. Malcolm's head rests upon his hand as he tries to follow the teaching of his beloved instructor, while Margaret's hands rest, one upon the sacred volume, the other upon her husband, as if she would connect them by the influence of her own personality. Although he could not read his wife's books, Malcolm would turn them over and examine them, and when she expressed for one a particular affection he would kiss it and often touch it with his hands. Sometimes he sent for a gold-smith and commissioned him to ornament the volume hand-

[66] *Life*, II, 10.

somely with gold and gems. Then when the work was finished he would carry the book back to the queen as a loving proof of his devotion."[87]

Although even Margaret could not persuade her husband to refrain from his terrible forays in England, she set herself to alleviate the lot of the unhappy English captives who had been carried away to Scotland by the raiders and reduced to slavery. She had enquiries made throughout the provinces of Scotland for cases of special cruelty and inhumanity to slaves, and had them ransomed and set at liberty forthwith. In this connection mention may be made of the queen's fondness for visiting the anchorites who abounded in many places throughout Scotland. As she could not induce them to accept any gift, she would beg them to enjoin upon her some almsdeed or work of mercy, which she was careful to perform.

Malcolm's last and fatal excursion into England took place in 1093. Margaret was in feeble health, and plead in vain that her husband should not leave her. On the day that Malcolm was entrapped in an ambush near the town of Alnwick and slain along with Edward his son and heir, Margaret was heard to utter a prediction of grievous calamity. On the fourth day the queen, now dwelling in Edinburgh Castle, rose and went into her oratory to hear Mass, and to partake of the

[87] II, 11.

"holy viaticum of the Body and Blood of our Lord." Returning to bed, she became much worse, and the clergy were summoned to recite the psalms for the commendation of a departing soul. As she lay, holding the famous cross called the Black Rood of Scotland before her eyes, and repeating the Fifty-first Psalm, her son Edgar, who had escaped from the battlefield, entered the room. Stricken with this new calamity, he tried to keep the sad news from his dying mother, but on being adjured by the sacred cross to tell the truth, he related exactly what had happened. Then the end came. The saintly queen praised God for granting her purification from some of her sins by this deep sorrow at the last, and uttered the prayer usually said by a priest before he communicates: "Lord Jesus Christ, who according to the Father's will, by the operation of the Holy Spirit, hast by Thy death given life to the world, deliver me." As she uttered the words "deliver me," her soul departed to Christ.

Thus ended a momentous chapter in the history of Scotland. It is true that when Margaret died, her life work seemed to have gone for little. The Celtic patriots were in open rebellion, and Edinburgh Castle was in a state of siege. Margaret's body had to be removed by stealth to Dunfermline for burial, and it was Malcolm's brother, Donald Bane, who next became King of Scotland, after whom reigned the son, not of Margaret, but of

Ingibiorg. In due course, however, the Saxon influence in Scotland came uppermost, and the seeds sown by the good queen bore their fruit in due season. The life and power of the old Celtic Church passed away, and Margaret's sons built up upon the old foundations, the framework of the Mediaeval Church in Scotland. And through all ecclesiastical changes in Scotland the memory of Margaret remains green—for it is the memory of a good woman, a tender and wise wife and mother, and a true saint of God.

III—THE MEDIAEVAL PERIOD

Bishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen

(Born 1431—Died 1514)

The life of William Elphinstone, the greatly venerated Bishop of Aberdeen, stands out as one of the few bright spots in the history of the later Mediaeval Church in Scotland. In an age that was marked by a grievous decay of religion and morality, when the forces were slowly but surely gathering that burst in the cataclysm of the Scottish Reformation, he furnished a splendid example of what a ruler of the Church might still be. Amidst men who were grasping and selfish, and who sought to exploit both Church and State for their own ends, he laboured for his country's good, a statesman both upright and patriotic, and a benefactor both generous and far-seeing. When looseness of Church discipline was an all but accepted fact his strong hand restored the ancient strictness within the bounds of his diocese. Amidst the clash of old and new ideas, the Humanities of the Renaissance, and the Scholasticism which had reigned for centuries, he founded a university where both might find a hearing and a home. And

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best of all, in evil days when Popes were wicked and kings were dissolute, he lived a life of simplicity and of saintliness which was admired by the men of his own day, and which has not lost its pleasant savour after many centuries, and many changes of faith and religion. For the Aberdeen of to-day remembers him as he was remembered in the years before the Reformation by the name of "the good Bishop Elphinstone."

In no part of Scotland does there exist at this day a kindlier feeling on the part of the general community towards Episcopacy than in the diocese over which Elphinstone once ruled, and nowhere else did the final triumph of Presbyterianism at the end of the seventeenth century prove so difficult and so long delayed. This fact is to be attributed not merely to native Aberdeen stubbornness, but also in no small degree to the abiding influence of the gracious memory of this saintly prelate of the Middle Ages.

His tomb is still to be seen in the College Chapel which he built in Aberdeen, in front of the spot where the high altar once stood, now occupied by the official seat of the principal of the university. Only a table slab of blue marble now remains of the once stately monument. In its upper part rested the Bishop's effigy, robed in pontificals, with two angels holding candelabra over his head, and two attendants at his feet bearing an epitaph graven in brass, while below there

were eight figures in brass, representing the three theological virtues and contemplation, and the four cardinal virtues.[1] All these figures, designed though they were to remind future ages of the excellence of this good man's character, were destroyed after the Reformation as emblems of idolatry. We live, however, in happier and wiser times now, and within a few months, through the efforts of members of the University which he founded, the Bishop's tomb will be restored to something like its original beauty.

A probably contemporary portrait of Elphinstone, which hangs in the Senatus Room at King's College, confirms the testimony which the original tomb was meant to bear. Robed as he is in a gorgeous embroidered cope and a richly jewelled mitre, his pastoral staff in his bosom, and his well beringed hands held in an attitude of prayer, his face suggests an inner spirit aloof from and above all mere worldly things. There is something intensely calm and inflexible in its expression. The eyes, set wide apart, look out upon the world and beyond it with something of knowledge and something of longing. The sensitive nostril reveals refinement and high ideals, and the strong, sweet mouth, set slightly forward, bespeaks inner intensity and keenness. Overshadowed as the face is by the tall mitre, it suggests the cloistered

[1] *Fasti Aberdonenses*, p. 562.

KING'S COLLEGE CHAPEL, ABERDEEN
Crown Tower

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ascetic rather than the man of affairs, but when the ecclesiastical adornments are shut out from the range of vision, the features become almost startlingly human.

For the facts of Elphinstone's life we are in the main indebted to the biography written by his friend, Hector Boece (Boys), the first Principal of the University of Aberdeen. Boece, who describes himself as "of Dundee," was an alumnus of the University of Paris in the springtime of the Renaissance. At the College of Montague, where he studied, were great and famous men, Erasmus of Rotterdam, "the glory and ornament of our age"; John Major of Haddingtonshire, "the profound theologian, whose writings, like brightest torches, have shed a glorious light upon the Christian religion," and others[2] who were notable in their day. Boece tells us that Bishop Elphinstone induced him by gifts and promises to leave his philosophical studies in Paris, and undertake the management of the new University at Aberdeen. There he proved himself a teacher of great ability, and an historian of singular unveracity. His History of Scotland, published in 1527, reveals a credulous and unscientific spirit which has done much to mar his reputation. Leland's wellknown

[2] *Lives of the Bishops of Aberdeen.* Edited by Dr. Moir. pp. 88-89.

Latin lines on the subject have been thus rendered:

> "If you should bid me count the lies
> Of Hector's history,
> I might as well essay to sum
> The stars or waves of sea." [3]

Perhaps this condemnation may be on the severe side, but it is true that the writing of history presented itself to him rather as a branch of artistic literature than as an exact science, and that he "has done what an obscure artist has done for the kings of Scotland in the picture gallery of Holyrood: he has given us portraits and scenes that reflect his own imagination." [4]

We need not, however, be unduly apprehensive as to the general trustworthiness of Boece's biography of Bishop Elphinstone. The book in which it appears, *The Lives of the Bishops of Murthlac and Aberdeen,* was published in 1522, eight years after the death of his friend, and there could have been little temptation for the author to draw upon his imagination for facts when his materials were so fresh and so abundant. Here and there we may discern the touch of the artist, but taking it as a whole the narrative seems quite worthy of credit, and although dates are lacking, it is usually possible to supply these from other sources.

When Elphinstone was born in 1431 the cir-

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[3] *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

[4] *Studies in the History and Development of the University of Aberdeen*, p. 29.

cumstances of the Scottish Church were entirely different from those which St. Margaret had known and dealt with. Three centuries and more had passed with a mingled burden of weal and woe for Scotland. The Celtic character of the Church had disappeared, with all its peculiarities of organization and of worship, and its insular independence. Scotland was now, from the ecclesiastical point of view, a province of the Holy See, firmly welded into the religious confederation of Western Christendom, and devoted to the spiritual headship of the Pope.

The transition had been, in some respects, a rapid one. Margaret's sons, Alexander I. and David I., had fostered the ecclesiastical developments begun in their parents' lifetime to some purpose. The changes which took place in the half century which included their reigns were greater than those of any period of Scottish Church history except that of the Reformation.[6] Saxon and Norman settlers poured into the country, and ecclesiastics and monastic communities were steadily introduced from the south. More important still was the institution of diocesan episcopacy in place of the old tribal system. By the end of David's reign all save one of the thirteen sees that existed

[6] Dowden. *Mediaeval Church in Scotland*, p. 9.

at the time of the Reformation had been founded or restored.*

This assimilation of the Scottish Church to that of England inevitably led to its closer connection with the See of Rome. Disputes with York as to its alleged supremacy over the Church in Scotland caused the latter to look to the Pope for aid, with the result that a papal legate appeared in Scotland for the first time during David's reign. In the reign of William the Lion, Pope Clement III. took the Scottish Church under his special protection, and from that time until the Reformation it shared all the advantages and all the disadvantages that accrued from the papal system in the West.

When under that system the state of religion began to decline, Scotland shared to the full in the general degeneration. The Scottish wars of independence which ended at Bannockburn, wrought much havoc in the life of the Church, from which she never entirely recovered. The tragic misfortunes of the Stuart dynasty gave occasion for the rise of a lawless and turbulent nobility, which in the end was so largely responsible

* Argyll was founded fifty years after David's death. Galloway, or Candida Casa, was under English jurisdiction, while Orkney and the Isles (later Sodor, *i.e.*, the *Southern* Isles, and Man) were under a Scandinavian Metropolitan. Edinburgh was not the seat of a Bishop until the reign of Charles I.

for the destructive side of the Reformation in Scotland. The growth of avarice among popes, kings, and nobles alike, led to the constant spoliation of the Church. The Papal provisions, by which the Popes claimed the right of providing the occupants of all benefices and sees, must have proved a veritable mine of wealth to the papal court, for as a rule only a golden key could open the door to promotion. The right of the Crown to the revenues of vacant sees and monasteries, too often led to the prolongation of vacancies for years. And the system of pluralities,[1] by which a Bishop might hold several benefices in his diocese, or a lesser dignitary enjoy a canonry in two or three different Cathedrals, sorely impaired the efficiency of the Church throughout the country.

Strong and flourishing, therefore, as the ecclesiastical system into which Elphinstone was born might seem, the canker of decay was spreading within. Half the wealth of Scotland may have, as is alleged, belonged to the Church, but in that fact lay her greatest danger, and the greatest temptation to those who desired her overthrow. If by the sixteenth century two-thirds of the parish livings were in the hands of the Cathedral chapters and monasteries, this meant that the

[1] Boece declares that Elphinstone never held any abbacy or other ecclesiastical dignity, *in commendam "ut nuno plerique."* (Lives, p. 106.) Dowden, ***Bishops of Scotland,*** p. 131.

status, and therefore also the efficiency, of the parish clergy was seriously lowered. The main portion of the parish revenues went to the non-resident rector, while the whole burden of the care of souls rested upon his substitute, the poorly paid vicar. Under such a system it is easy to understand how religion languished, when indolence and luxury crept into monastic and Cathedral life, and ignorance and laxity reigned among the parish clergy. Too many there were

> "Of such, as for their bellies' sake
> Creep and intrude and climb into the fold."

while

> "The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed,
> But swoln with wind and the rank mist they draw
> Rot inwardly, and foul contagion spread."[8]

The circumstances of Elphinstone's own birth furnish a vivid illustration of the state of morality amongst mediaeval ecclesiastics. In a letter of Pope Alexander VI. to the Bishop, written in 1494, we learn that his father was a presbyter and his mother an unmarried woman.[9] The object of this letter was to secure Elphinstone against any objection that might be raised, on the ground of this defect of birth, to his tenure of the see of Aberdeen, and it relates that a similar precaution had been taken by Pope Sixtus IV. in the case of

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[8] Milton, *Lycidas.*

[9] Theiner. *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum Historiam illustrantia,* No. 894.

his previous appointment to the bishopric of Ross.

It may at first sight seem strange that Boece, who simply relates that the future Bishop was born "in the famous city of Glasgow, notable for its University, of the ancient Elphinstone family," [10] betrays no sense of concern about a fact which must have been perfectly well known. He speaks of the anxiety of Elphinstone's parents as to his bodily health after he had reached manhood,[11] and tells how they recalled him from France to his native land still later.[12] From such references we are obviously meant to conclude that during Elphinstone's manhood his father and mother were living together in the relations of ordinary family life. Nor should we lightly set aside Boece's statements as mere romance, for it is clear that such connections were far from uncommon both in England and Scotland, and that, however irregular they were from the strict ecclesiastical point of view, they were not regarded by the general community as disgraceful.

The truth is that the rule of celibacy for the secular, or non-monastic clergy was a counsel of perfection, imposed from without, and never either generally accepted or rigorously enforced. Neither the thunder of repeated peremptory decrees and statutes, nor the penalties and other disadvantages inflicted by ecclesiastical law could alter the situa-

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[10] *Lives, ut supra*, p. 58. [11] *Ibid.*, p. 60. [12] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

tion. The clergy might be prevented by the Church from contracting a legal marriage, but many of them lived, without incurring public opprobrium, in decent and faithful union with women who were their wives in all but legal name. It is only fair that this fact should be recognized before we pass judgment on the morals of the Mediaeval Church. Without seeking to defend the irregularity of such connections as have been described, or to lower our ideals of morality, we may well admit that under circumstances so different from those of our day, different standards of conduct might be held with a good conscience, and that a certain amount of the so-called immorality of the Pre-Reformation clergy comes within the scope of this consideration. It is not, of course, to be denied that vice and immorality in the ordinary sense of the word were found among the clergy, or that the lives of many of the Church's leaders were a disgrace to Christianity.

The father of the future Bishop of Aberdeen is believed to have been William Elphinstone, mentioned as one of the Canons of Glasgow Cathedral in 1451. He seems also to have been Dean of the Faculty of Arts, and afterwards Archdeacon of Teviotdale, as well as rector of Kirkmichael.[12] The family of Elphinstone is of Saxon origin, and

[12] See Prof. Cowan in *Aberdeen Quatercentenary Studies*. No. 19, pp. 1 and 2. Dowden, *Bishops of Scotland*, p. 130.

can be traced in Scotland from the middle of the thirteenth century. The Bishop's grandfather was a landed proprietor in Stirlingshire.

Elphinstone's early days were spent in Glasgow, which was then a quiet and beautiful little town, nestling round the Cathedral on the hill, beside the clear waters of the Clyde. According to his biographer, he shewed from childhood a special devotion to Our Lady. When scarcely four years old he strayed from home, and after a long search was found in the inner shrine of the Cathedral kneeling (*prostratus*) before the image of the Holy Virgin. It was only with difficulty, and to the accompaniment of tears and childish cries, that he could be removed and taken home.[14] Later in his boyhood he had a dream which made a great impression on his mind. He thought that he was kneeling before the Virgin's image, as he often did when awake, and praying earnestly that she would keep him from falling into grievous sin, when she replied: "Apply thyself wholly to virtue, and when thou hast attained to the bishopric which I shall give thee, be zealous for Christ's religion by restoring my churches." On awakening he told what had happened to his tutor, who like a wise man bade him say nothing about it, apply himself to virtue, and not put his trust in dreams.[15]

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[14] *Lives*, p. 58. [15] p. 59.

At the age of seven he commenced his studies, whether at school or under private tuition, Boece's luxurious Latin periods do not clearly specify. His application to his lessons seemed to his teachers beyond his years, and all who came in contact with him were charmed with his manners and disposition, as well as his rare beauty. He was such a favourite with the Bishop of Glasgow that the prelate could not enjoy his evening meal until he had sent for William and heard him recite poetry or something else which he had learnt.

Thus the boy grew to manhood in an ecclesiastical atmosphere, following the usual courses of study which were afforded by a mediaeval Cathedral. He spent his early years, Boece informs us, in literary studies hardly worthy of his genius, but the foundation of the University of Glasgow in 1451 by Bishop Turnbull opened the door to new opportunities for the eager student. His name stands eleventh in the roll of entrants,[16] and we are told that he soon surpassed all his fellows in the study of logic and physics. In his twenty-fifth year he became Master of Arts and was ordained to the priesthood. Owing, however, to his parents' anxiety about his health he did not enter upon parochial work, but for some years took charge of his father's estate. In this capacity he shewed that a studious life had not unfitted him

[16] Cowan, *ut supra*, p. 3.

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for the management of affairs, for his clearheadedness and ability were no less clearly displayed than his power of winning the good will of those with whom he came in contact.

Domestic affairs, however, after a time ceased to interest the mind of the young cleric, and he returned to Glasgow as a student of Canon Law, that vast and complicated legal code which governed the life of the Western Church. This was a study which throughout the Middle Ages appealed to the ablest of Scottish ecclesiastics, both on account of its practical importance and because of the remunerative career which it opened up. That Elphinstone's ambition, however, was no sordid one became apparent when, after several years of study, he commenced practice in the law courts. "He never was connected with any one's hurt, was a most severe censor of injustice, and patron of justice. So earnest was he in the cause of the poor, that he might be said to plead their cause, not for a fee, but for the sake of equity and justice. The result was that he gained the reputation of being the advocate of the poor and miserable."[17]

It would seem, however, that this life did not prove a satisfactory one either to Elphinstone's friends or to himself, and he retired to the country about 1459-60. For four years he discharged the

[17] Boece. *Lives*, p. 61.

pastoral duties of the parish of Kirkmichael, filling up his spare time with ceaseless study. "In this retreat he was never idle, never sluggish. No hour, no moment passed in which he was not writing, or dictating, or making extracts. Literary studies and the repetition of the hour-offices of the Breviary day and night filled up the rest of his time. The routine of his life was such as every private Christian should observe: reading succeeding prayer, and prayer reading, in unbroken sequence." [18]

If Elphinstone was persuaded to enter upon this quiet life by the persuasion of some of his friends, it was by the benevolent interference of another friend that he left it. His uncle, Laurence Elphinstone, a burgess, it may be, of Edinburgh,[19] and a man of substance, felt that his brilliant nephew was hiding his light under a bushel, and set himself energetically to remove him to a sphere where his talents might find adequate scope. Sending for Elphinstone to Glasgow, this worthy man soundly rated him for neglecting to cultivate his eminent talents for the honour and profit of his house, and ended by offering to defray liberally all the expenses of a period of residence abroad. The result of this word in season was Elphinstone's departure for Paris about 1463-4 in order to continue his studies in Canon Law.

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[18] Boece. *Lives*, p. 62. [19] Cowan, *ut supra*, p. 3, note 7.

Like many another Scottish student abroad before and since his time, William soon became known as one who burned the midnight oil. He took but a minimum of sleep and of food, spending his days listening to great orators and lecturers, and his nights reciting what he had heard. His industry was rewarded by an important appointment as "first reader in Canon Law," which he held for six years, crowded audiences attending his lectures. On taking his degree in the Sacred Decretals, he removed for still more advanced study to the University of Orleans, where there were teachers of great reputation. There his own reputation as an exponent of ecclesiastical law began to be so great that the Parliament of Paris more than once sought his advice in connection with important decisions.[20] Among many friends whom he made in France, the chief was John de Gana, a great legal luminary, who became Chancellor of France under Louis XII.

Recalled home by his parents after an absence of eight years, Elphinstone found that his reputation had preceded him. The Bishop of Glasgow welcomed him warmly, and soon appointed him Official of the diocese, on account of his great learning, his clear intellect, and his powerful eloquence. This office was one of great dignity, and carried with it a seat in Parliament. The con-

[20] Boece, p. 64.

sistorial court over which the Official presided dealt with a large and varied range of legal business.[21] All matrimonial suits, and questions concerning wills and inheritance were decided at this tribunal, as well as cases of slander, and of certain kinds of contract. Disputes as to Church patronage and the like naturally also came under the Official's jurisdiction, as well as cases of assaults on ecclesiastical persons, and assaults and brawling in sacred places.[22] In the discharge of his duties as a judge, Elphinstone shewed the same passion for strict justice as when he was an advocate. He observed strict impartiality, restraining litigants from calumnious charges, and never sparing extortioners or perverters of the law. The maxim was often on his lips, "He hurts the good who spares the bad." [23]

Elphinstone was now in the prime of life, and worldly honours began to crowd upon him. In 1474 he was elected rector of the University of Glasgow,[24] and soon afterwards he was promoted to the very important post of Official of Lothian

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[21] "At that time the Church courts, besides the load of properly consistorial cases, monopolized a great part of civil business. They were, in truth, the only settled and organized judicatures in Scotland, and were alone presided over by educated lawyers." (Innes, *Sketches of Early Scotch History*, p. 263.)

[22] Dowden. *Mediaeval Church in Scotland*, p. 287.

[23] Boece. *Lives*, p. 65. [24] Cowan, *ut supra*, p. 4.

in the diocese of St. Andrews.[25] Taking up his residence in Edinburgh, he was at once in close touch with the court of King James III. In Parliament he was chosen to serve on its judicial committees, which formed the supreme civil jurisdiction in Scotland.[26] The king made him a privy councillor, and about 1479 appointed him to serve on an embassy charged with a delicate mission to Louis XI. of France. In this affair he gained the good will of Louis and the approval of his own king.[27] His success led to similar appointments which need not be detailed. James IV., in a charter of 1489, makes suitable acknowledgment of "all his faithful and gratuitous service, and great labours and heavy expenses incurred at divers times in missions to the kings and kingdoms of France and England, the dukes of Burgundy and Austria, and to other foreign parts, and in our service within our commonwealth and the peace thereof."[28]

As a reward for the result of his mission to France, Elphinstone was appointed Bishop of Ross in 1481. According to Boece, he refused

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[25] Then probably the second judicial office in the Kingdom. (Innes, *Sketches*, p. 263.)

[26] *Ibid.*

[27] Boece professes to report the actual words of Elphinstone's speech to Louis, but in all probability it was composed by the worthy Principal himself. p. 66.

[28] *Records of Old Aberdeen*, I, p. 6. (New Spalding Club.)

the offer with a reference to his boyish dream: "Ross," he said, "is not to be my see, but where the Mother of God is patron or guardian saint." The statement, however, is not accurate as regards an actual refusal, for Elphinstone was legally Bishop of Ross for nearly two years. He was certainly, however, never consecrated as Bishop of Ross, and this fact may lie at the bottom of Boece's story. His desire was granted when, in 1483 he was "provided" by the Pope to the bishopric of Aberdeen, the Cathedral of which was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and St. Machar.[29] At this period, however, Elphinstone's opportunities for attending to the proper duties of a Bishop must have been small indeed, for matters of state now claimed his best attention. As a member of the king's privy council he was brought into close contact with his unwise and unfortunate monarch, whose affairs sorely needed the guidance of a good and wise man. Elphinstone's influence over James was, if his biographer may be trusted, very great.[30]

[29] St. Machar, also known as Mochonna and Dochonna, was, according to ancient tradition, a disciple of St. Columba, and founder of the Church at Aberdeen. According to Columba's behest, the site of the church was chosen on the spot where the river Don in its windings forms the shape of a Bishop's crook. *"Ubi flumen, praesulis instar baculi, intrat mare."* (Colgan, *Trias, Thau.* Aberdeen Breviary, 12th Nov.)

[30] "It will not lessen the good Bishop in our eyes, if we abate something of the influence which Boece attributes to him in the councils of the weak and unfortunate James III." (Innes, p. 264.)

ST. MACHAR'S CATHEDRAL, ABERDEEN

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"All his majesty's most important affairs were carried out under the Bishop's direction and as he suggested. As he was thus admitted to greater familiarity with the king, he advised him to abandon his licentious and rapacious habits, for these were the vices most fatal to kings. He exhorted him to restrain the violence of the caterans, who wasted and overran the country. . . . He asked him to remember that his kingly splendour was sufficiently maintained by his having as his consort Margaret, a lady of the chastest life, of royal lineage, and the mother of his three sons." [81]

James took in good part this plain speaking by his faithful servant, and, as we are told, "devoted himself more than formerly to religion," as far at least as its externals were concerned. Whenever he saw an image of Christ or of the Virgin Mother of God in church, market place, or street, he would bare his head and pray for his own and his kingdom's welfare. Large sums too he bestowed on the poor and on the clergy, and on the adornment of churches throughout the country. On one occasion James was on a pilgrimage, with the Pope's legate in his company, when he met a nobleman who had been condemned for murder going to execution. The unfortunate man seizing his opportunity, threw himself at James's feet and implored for mercy on the ground that

[81] *Lives*, p. 75.

his crime had been an involuntary one. The king turned to the legate and asked for his advice. "Let justice be carried out," was the unfeeling reply. James next addressed Elphinstone, whose countenance shewed his disapproval of the legate's sentence. "Is this the compassion of Italian Churchmen? You used to give me far different advice." The Bishop's answer was, "Let mercy prevail," and so the criminal was discharged.

Had James's advisers been always of the stamp of Elphinstone, his fate might have been very different. But the Bishop's influence did not find full scope until too late. He was appointed Chancellor of the Kingdom only a short time before the lamentable affair of Sauchieburn in 1488, and all that he could do in the interests of peace and of loyalty was in vain. Soon the country was embroiled in civil war, with the king's own son in the ranks of the insurgents. Elphinstone left nothing untried that a good and wise man could do.[32] Up to the last he laboured to negotiate a compromise between the two parties,[33] but without avail. James perished ingloriously by an assassin's dagger after fleeing from the field of battle, and the Bishop's career as a statesman came, for the time being, to a sudden end.

At Aberdeen, however, there was work in plenty for Elphinstone to do. The clergy needed

[32] *Lives*, p. 79.

[33] Hume Brown. *History of Scotland*, I, 286.

to be reformed, and the performance of the services had fallen into neglect for some years.[84] Under the Bishop's firm hand this state of affairs was soon remedied. The ancient style of chanting was restored by his orders, and the conduct of the sacred rites in the Cathedral was put under the care of John Malison, "a man deeply skilled in music and of approved moral character," to whose efforts, Boece informs us, was justly ascribed whatever musical skill belonged to Aberdeen, whatever proficiency in chanting the northern Church possessed.[85]

An interesting document, printed in the *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis,* which contains Elphinstone's regulations for the office of Cathedral sacrist, may be referred to here as illustrating the Bishop's methods of reform. Whether it belongs to this or to a later stage of his episcopate, it gives a vivid account of the daily Cathedral routine, and at the same time illustrates the excellent prelate's capacity for attending to the smallest details. The document has a colloquial air about it, with its phonetically spelt Latin words, and its frequent faults in concord, suggest-

[84] *Lives,* p. 79.

[85] "The Aberdeen Sang Schule, one of the earliest in Scotland, was founded in 1370." "Aberdeen has been remarkable at various periods of its history for special attention given by the Church to the service of praise." See Cowan, *ut supra,* p. 8.

ing the picture of a busy Bishop dictating, and a nervous scribe in a hurry.[86]

Every day the whole year through, in winter as well as in summer, on ordinary (ferial) days and festivals alike—so the regulations run—the sacristan is to ring the bells in the accustomed manner, beginning at five A. M. and ringing for a quarter of an hour. At five-thirty he rings again, and at six, when the first of the canonical hour services begin. The choir vicars having assembled[87] with the beadle in their robes, say the office of Matins, beginning and ending in the name of the Lord. Then the sacrist rings for another quarter of an hour, on the little bell (*humili campana*), this time for the singing of prime, and again after prime for the Mass of the Blessed Virgin Mary. From nine to ten a big bell is rung as before Matins, and at the latter hour High Mass is said. From three o'clock till four P. M. the large bells are rung as before for Vespers when the Canons are responsible for the office, and lastly at eight P. M. the little bell is tolled for a quarter

[86] Vol. II, p. 102. The *"Register"* is published by the Spalding Club.

[87] All the clerics on duty for the week had to be in the choir before the end of the second ringing, and in their stalls by the final one, under pain of various fines, ranging from 8d. to a penny. The others had to be in their places before the end of the *Venite* at Mattins and before the last *Kyrie Eleeison* at Mass. (*Reg. Ab.* II, p. 106.)

of an hour, on behalf of the souls of all the faithful departed.

Into the minutiae of these rules for bell-ringing we need not enter, but when we read that the sacrist, who was in priest's orders, was also expected to be present, robed in a long cassock and a surplice, at Matins, Mass, and Vespers, and to minister at the high altar and in the choir whatever was fitting and necessary, it is clear that he must have been assisted by deputies. This becomes clearer still when we scan the list of his duties further.

He had to wind up the clock and regulate it, to take care of the altar hangings, the choir books, and all other articles in the Cathedral, and after the services to fold the vestments tidily and put them away in their appointed places. Every Saturday he had to clean the church, the choir, and the chapter house from all rubbish, dust, and dirt, and to wash the pavement with besom and water. Four times a year he cleaned the windows on both sides, and removed from the walls, the images, and the base of the sacred cross all dust, cobwebs, and other disfigurements.

The cemetery too, had to be kept clear of pigs, horses, and cattle by the construction of sunk fences, and a sharp eye was to be kept on pedlars, lest sales or marketings be made in church or in cemetery, "whether on festivals or ordinary days, and whether of eatables or not." Moreover,

he had to prevent the entrance of pigeons, bats,[88] crows, and swallows, to keep and clean the roofs and rain-pipes of the whole building, and pull out all weeds growing in walls and windows, lest rain-water enter. Every day fresh water was to be provided when necessary for Mass, holy water, baptismal font, and the washing of the hands of the ministers and celebrants, as well as fire for kindling the candles, and the censers when needed at the high altar. The lamp before the venerable Sacrament was to be kept burning day and night, lit with oil and a floating wick. He was to light the candles upon and before the high altar, and in front of the images, and in the hanging candelabra of the choir, as well as the bronze lamps for Matins and Vespers in winter time. On appropriate occasions he was to hang up the arras-cloths in the choir and at the high altar and the Bishop's Seat, both in the choir and in the chapter house, and on the regular days to open the shrines where it had been necessary to shut them, and to open them both in Lent and at other times.

When processions were made he had to marshall the choir and precede it, indicating with a rod carried in his hand, as the ritual books direct, the way through church or cemetery. On the Rogation days he had, among other things, to provide the feretory or wooden tray for the relics, which the

[88] *Nodulorum.* The Italians say *nottola* for bat.

deacons carried on their shoulders, and to see to the hanging of the seal of the indulgences. Passing over a number of the minor additional duties of this hard-worked sacrist, we find him charged with the task of seeing that the sacred vessels were not carried about outside the choir by unordained persons such as young laymen or scholars, and of noting in a list the names of those vicars of the choir who failed to celebrate the private Masses prescribed by the foundation of their office. Every Saturday, moreover, he had to subject himself to the "taxation of faults" along with the choir vicars. This took place at the weekly chapter, where fines and other punishments were inflicted for neglect in the performance of Church duties.[39] His salary amounted to ten pounds a year, together with "extras" amounting to a few pounds more,[40] and his share of the common allowance for the support of the chaplains.

One is tempted to linger over these old records, for they afford many quaint and interesting glimpses into Cathedral life in these bygone days. For instance, we have a list of the Church plate, jewels, and other valuables, made at a "visitation of the treasures" by Elphinstone and his chapter

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[39] Dowden, *ut supra*, p. 84.

[40] For instance, he received 6*s.* 8*d.* for keeping out the birds, 2*s.* for ringing the bells for each dead person, 6*d.* from each Canon celebrating on his accustomed day, and 6*s.* 8*d.* from each Canon on being instituted in Chapter.

in the year 1496, the interest of which is more than merely antiquarian.[41] We appreciate the thoroughgoing nature of the Bishop's inspection as we read the notes appended to the inventory. Of the fourteen silver chalices—ten of them gilt—which should be there, five are stolen, while the cross hitherto supposed to contain part of the cross of St. Andrew is found to have lost the precious relic.[42] Other loss and damage is recorded with similar care. Three pearls have disappeared from a golden *monile*, called "in the common tongue a brooch," a silver ampulla has lost its stopper, two pieces have been broken off two crowns of gilded silver for Christ and our Lady, and so on down the list.

We cannot here dwell upon the varied items of Cathedral property in the shape of crosses, rings, censers, mitres, episcopal gloves, buskins and staves, vessels, ornaments and furniture of various kinds, but the list of relics may be detailed in order to illustrate a prominent feature of mediaeval Church life. Besides the despoiled relic of St. Andrew, there was a silver cross containing a piece of our Lord's cross, and an arm of St. Fergus in silver, with his bones. Two brass reliquaries contained the bulk of the sacred relics. In one were the bones of St. Katherine, St. Helene, St. Margaret, Isaac the patriarch, and St.

[41] *Registrum Ab.*, II, 166.

[42] *Deperditur lignum*, is the laconic entry.

Duthac. In the other were the garments of Blessed Mary the Virgin, the bones of Peter and Paul, and those of St. Brigid, with the dust of St. Edmund the Archbishop.

Was it a premonition of evil days to come, one wonders, or merely a knowledge of the sacrilegious possibilities of his own days which caused an earlier Bishop of Aberdeen to have the following significant legend inscribed upon two silver washing-basins which he had presented? "Henry, by the grace of God, etc., caused me to be made in the year of our Lord 1433, and whosoever shall alienate us from your altar and from our Lady, may he be an alien from the Kingdom of God." Pathetic too in the light of the coming reformation of religion is the reading of an entry dated 1499.[48] In that year a pieta, or image of our Lady embracing the dead body of her Son, weighing 120 ounces of silver and more, was given by Andrew Lyell, treasurer of Aberdeen, and offered at the high altar on the feast of the Visitation. Thereupon Bishop Elphinstone ordained that the image should be carried reverently round the Cathedral on all the accustomed festivals of the glorious Virgin, and that an indulgence of forty days should endure for all time coming to all who should walk in procession on the aforesaid days,

[48] II, 170.

or who should follow the same with devotion at these times.

Before we return to trace Elphinstone's personal career, it may be useful to make a brief survey of the organization and general arrangements of the Cathedral of Aberdeen in his time.[“] Like the great majority of the Scottish Cathedrals this was a secular foundation. Each of its canons, that is to say, possessed his separate prebend, or provision for maintenance, and dwelt in a separate house, instead of living in a community, obeying a "religious" rule, and being provided for out of the common funds as in the monastic Cathedrals. The canons' residences, each consisting of toft, croft, and manse, were situated within the Cathedral close, and had to be kept in repair by the occupants. These dwellings were, to use a modern term, "furnished houses," as various lists of the articles handed on from one resident to his successor testify. There had to be a good table on trestles, a basin and ewer, towels, one silver spoon, a drinking cup or goblet, with a lid. In the bedroom were a bed, a tester, a pair of linen sheets, and two blankets. In the kitchen there were a brass pot, the chain called the *ketilcruke,*

[“] The following particulars are taken from the valuable work of the late Dr. Dowden, Bishop of Edinburgh, entitled *The Mediaeval Church in Scotland.* This book, exhibiting all the author's well-known accuracy and thoroughness, was published after his death by Maclehose of Glasgow, in 1910.

a pestle and mortar, and a variety of dishes. The clergy evidently brewed their own beer, for every house had its *brasina* with its furniture in vats, barrels, etc., while the apparatus for brewing is specified with considerable particularity.[45]

The chapter of canons formed a corporation holding property for the common good. Each member had his share in this common fund, as well as his separate prebend or allowance for maintenance, derived commonly from the revenues of some parish church. The vicar to whom the spiritual care of such churches was entrusted, drew only a proportion of the income, and the remainder went to the canon who was rector of the parish. This custom, as we have seen, admitted of much abuse, and contributed greatly to the degradation of religion. Sometimes the prebends were derived from other sources, such as a pension paid by the Abbot of Deer, or the tithe of the fishery of Balgownie.[46]

The dignitaries of the chapter were the Dean, in whose hands lay the administration and discipline of the Cathedral, the cantor or Precentor, who regulated all musical affairs, the Chancellor, who as clerk of the chapter, custodian of the chapter seal and the library, and controller of the grammar school, had important duties to perform, and the Treasurer, who kept the vessels, vestments,

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[45] *Ibid.*, p. 94. [46] *Ibid.*, p. 89.

relics, and other treasures of the church. When sitting in choir they occupied the four terminal stalls, possibly for the better oversight of the clergy and choir-boys during the services. At Aberdeen the bishop was a canon himself and in choir he occupied one of the canons' stalls,[47] next to that of the Archdeacon.

In Elphinstone's time there were twenty-nine canons at Aberdeen, but the growing habit of non-residence, against which successive statutes were apparently of no avail, must have caused many of their stalls, as a rule, to be empty. This evil was a common feature in Cathedrals everywhere, for many pluralist canons found it more profitable to draw their incomes and to pay their fines for absence, than to reside in the Cathedral city and attend to their proper duties.

Each canon, present or absent, had to provide a deputy, called a vicar of the choir, to take part in the Cathedral services. For these there was no non-residence, and they naturally played an important part in the daily routine of the church. In Elphinstone's time there were twenty priest vicars, two deacons, and two sub-deacons, and one of the good Bishop's works was to raise their status by regularizing their stipends, and giving the priests fixity of tenure, and formal institution by placing a ring upon their finger.[48] Each vicar

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 80. [48] pp. 69 and 70.

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had to be provided by his Canon with a surplice, a cope of coarse black cloth,[49] and an almuce or cape of black fur. The latter, which was no needless protection in an unwarmed Cathedral on a cold winter's day, is the ancestor of the black scarf, the use of which has been so largely and so rightly revived in recent years.

As the singing of the services devolved mainly upon the vicars, much care was taken as to their musical efficiency. At Aberdeen they had to be skilled "at least in Gregorian song," a phrase which points to the existence of Church music arranged in harmony for different voices. Apart from them the choir consisted, according to Elphinstone's foundation, of eleven boys, although it seems that the actual number was never more than six.[50]

Besides attending to the internal reforms needed in the Cathedral and presenting it with costly gifts, Elphinstone applied himself with vigour to the task of completing and improving the fabric. When he became Bishop, the great tower begun by Bishop Leighton half a century earlier was still unfinished. This he completed, and covered it, as well as the roof of the whole building, with lead. In the tower, by his efforts

[49] The use of a black cope by singers in the choir has survived to the present day in Lincoln Cathedral, where each of the two senior choir boys wears one.

[50] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

and expense, were placed three bells of 12,000[51] pounds weight. He then commenced to rebuild the choir, which was not worthy in respect either of its size or its beauty, of so large a church. With characteristic caution the Bishop would not allow the old choir to be demolished until he had gathered all the materials necessary for the completion of the new one. Great heaps of stone and lime were collected, and the workmen selected by himself, and set to work. Elphinstone did not live to see the completion of this work, but no small part of the choir was built before his death.[52]

Alas for the uncertainty of man's handiwork! Practically the whole of Elphinstone's building has long since disappeared. The tower which he completed fell in 1688, and in consequence the choir which he began became a ruin, while the old nave of pinkish granite still stands, its two western towers a venerable landmark for the country round, and its interior modified to serve the purposes of a Presbyterian parish church.

More abiding was the fruit of the good Bishop's labours in the sphere of education. The work of fostering the love of learning, and of bringing facilities for study within the reach of all who cared to use them was one which no ecclesiastical

[51] So says Boece.

[52] *Lives*, p. 97. Elphinstone also completed the choir of St. Nicholas' Church in Aberdeen, which furnished his "prebend." (Cowan, p. 7.)

changes could ruin; and it is chiefly as the founder of the University of Aberdeen and the builder of King's College[53] that Elphinstone's name is gratefully remembered in the north of Scotland. Many a poor lad has had abundant reason, after the Reformation even more than before it, to be grateful for the beneficence and labour of this mediaeval Bishop, through which he was enabled to grasp the chance of his lifetime. And to Elphinstone's foundation is to be also largely attributed the high general standard of education which has for centuries characterised the north eastern region of Scotland.

Aberdeen had indeed been, long before its University was founded, an educational centre. The Grammar School existed in 1262 and probably before that date, and every Cathedral, with its body of canons, was more or less a home of learning. Doubtless there were always ecclesiastics in the Aberdeen Chapter who were qualified to teach in the higher branches of learning, and possibly to train candidates for Holy Orders.[54] Out of this nucleus there was formed, at Aberdeen as elsewhere, a *studium generale* or university, when the great wave of educational impulse, born of the

[53] Originally dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, but afterwards called also, by Elphinstone's wish, King's College, in recognition of the interest which James IV. shewed in it.

[54] This seems to be what is meant by the "College of Canons," referred to by Professor Cowan and others.

Renaissance, flowed over Europe in the fifteenth century. Elphinstone, as we have seen, was one of the earliest students of Glasgow University, founded by Bishop William Turnbull in 1451, and earlier still, in 1014, Bishop Henry Wardlaw had founded the University of St. Andrews. Now in his turn Elphinstone set himself to work to establish a similar institution in the north, having enlisted James IV. as an enthusiastic ally. The papal bull creating the new University, which was granted on the 10th February, 1494-5, relates that the institution is to be specially for the benefit of a "remote portion of Scotland cut off from the rest of the kingdom by arms of the sea and very lofty mountains, and inhabited by unlettered, ignorant, and almost barbarous people, who have scarcely among them men capable of preaching the Word and administering the Sacraments." [55]

According to the custom of the times the University was founded without any buildings of its own, but Elphinstone's energy and munificence within a few years had provided its first habitation. The chapel was begun earliest of all, in 1500,[56] and about five years later the original buildings were completed, including chapel, tower and crown, residence and class rooms.[57] The

[55] Cowan, *ut supra*, p. 9.

[56] In this year Hector Boece had arrived from Paris. p. 11.

[57] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

tower still stands bearing its beautiful crown,[58] and the chapel, in spite of transformations both external and internal, remains in substance a venerable monument of the founder's liberality. The "fine carved work, seats for the use of the priests, and benches for the boys, made with wonderful art," [59] may still be seen, at least in part. But gone are "the marble altars and the images of the saints, the statues and pictures gilt with gold," with all the valuable ornaments for church and ministers, and the "casket of cypress-wood set with pearls and jewels, and of beautiful workmanship," in which were kept "the venerable relics of the saints set in gold and silver." Gone too from the bell-tower are the "thirteen bells, pleasing the ear with sweet and holy melody," the gift of Bishop William.

The constitution of the University was modelled upon those of Paris and Bologna, and two of its provisions are worthy of special notice. One was the foundation of a chair of medicine, which no other university in Great Britain then possessed, and the other was the providing of special facilities for poor students, a feature for which Elphinstone's University has always been notable. Salaries were also provided for the lecturers, in advance of the other Scottish univer-

[58] Repaired in 1620, and rebuilt in 1633. *Quatercentenary Studies*, No. 19, p. 370.

[59] *Lives*, p. 94.

sities. It may also be said that, while the Bishop succeeded in attracting much financial support for the promotion of his scheme, his own liberality was its mainstay. "There can be no reasonable doubt," says Professor Cowan,[60] "that the original College of St. Mary, of which he is expressly stated to be the founder, was built by him largely out of savings from his episcopal income."

If further illustration be required of Elphinstone's public spirit, and of his close touch with the important movements of his age, we may find it in connection with the introduction into Scotland of that mighty engine, the printing press. In the year 1507 James IV. granted a charter to Walter Chepman and Andrew Myllar, burgesses of Edinburgh, to set up the first press in Scotland, with special reference to the liturgical and historical work of the Bishop of Aberdeen. It was directed that "in time coming mass books, manuals, matin books, and portuus books, after our ain Scottish use, with legends of Scottish saints as now gathered and eked by our Reverend Father in God and trusty counsellor, William, Bishop of Aberdeen, be imprinted and provided; and that na manner of sich books of Salisbury be brought to be sauld within our realm in all time coming."[61] This reference suggests that it was to some extent at least through Elphinstone's efforts that this

[60] *Studies, ut supra*, p. 10. [61] *Reg. Sec. Sig.*, III, 129.

notable development took place, and at the same time reveals his patriotic desire to supplant the service books of Sarum, which had for long been in general use in Scotland, by means of others more distinctly Scottish in character.

Elphinstone had collected a large amount of material from documentary sources and oral tradition, relating to the lives of the old Scottish saints,[84] which he introduced into his revised edition of the Sarum Breviary, with suitable hymns and prayers. Thus the *Aberdeen Breviary,* one of the earliest productions of Scottish printing,[85] if not actually the first, is a valuable memorial of the ancient Church, both to the historian and to the liturgical student. This, however, was the only instalment of Elphinstone's scheme which was carried out, and in little more than fifty years, before the Aberdeen Breviary had superseded that of Sarum, the flood time of the Reformation had swept away all the old service books from general use.

To the end of his days the good Bishop had work of public utility in hand. His last project of the kind was to build a bridge over the Dee.

[84] Boece, p. 99. Bishop Elphinstone's historical collections are now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford. "They are now known to be little more than chronicles or chronological notices taken from Fordun and his continuator, with some valuable copies of original papers." (Innes, *Preface to Aberdeen Register*, p. 51.)

[85] Published 1509-10. *Ibid.*, p. 163.

He collected for this purpose, we are told,[64] an immense quantity of stones and timber and cement, and secured the services of choice craftsmen, but death overtook him before his pious task was more than begun. It was left to his successor, Bishop Dunbar, to erect the bridge which, after many an alteration, spans the river Dee at the present day.

Little space has been left to deal with Elphinstone's political life under James IV. It would seem that as soon as the young king was free to act for himself, he recalled to court the man who had been so faithful to his father, and appointed him a privy councillor.[65] Restored again to royal favour, the Bishop devoted himself anew to the work of peace maker. The feuds between contending nobles and the smouldering fires of discontent which threatened the welfare of the nation were quenched by his efforts, and the administration of justice was facilitated by the institution of itinerant courts.[66] In this reign, as in the previous one, he acted as one of the Lords Auditors of Complaints,[67] and we find him holding office as keeper of the Privy seal as early as 5th December, 1492.[68] His diplomatic gifts also found scope afresh in several important missions.

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[64] Boece, p. 98. [65] Boece, p. 79. [66] p. 80.
[67] Innes. *Pref. to Ab. Register*, p. xliv.
[68] Dowden. *Bishops of Scotland*, p. 130.

The picture which Boece draws of the Bishop's private life amidst all those labours and distractions is a fine one.[69] "Though he was all but crushed by endless anxieties, he never neglected his religious duties. Neither in his youth, nor in his old age, neither as a public official nor as a private person did he neglect his studies. In the leisure of his old age he took great delight in the Scriptures, the memorials of the prophets, apostles, and interpreters of holy writ, sometimes, too, of the philosophers whose works chiefly conduce to a holy life. Meanwhile his solitary hours were spent in peaceful leisure, in a complete tranquillity where everything afforded him joy. In this leisure, this solitude, he sometimes talked with himself, discussing moral questions, questions of life, and the maxims of noble living. Thus he spent his leisure, thus his solitary hours. He kept a splendid table. He hardly ever dined without noble company, and while the table was always sumptuous, he himself amid these dainties was abstemious, cheerful of countenance and gay in conversation. He loved the company of learned men, music and decent merriment, while he detested all scurrilous talk."[70] He had such natural ability and mental vigour that he never failed to rise to

[69] p. 100.

[70] *Cf.*, p. 111. "He detested the word indecency as much as indecency itself. The company of women he avoided both in public and in private."

any occasion either in public or private life. He was equally at home in civil and religious affairs, possessing as he did a most versatile genius. During all the period of his life none was more skilled in law, none more able to deal with great affairs; for in eloquence he vied with the greatest orators, and no single citizen had more at heart or more advanced the cause of patriotism, tranquillity, peace, and order. He seemed to possess almost an iron constitution and an ability to endure any labour, since no toil, no exercise, no public or private duty could exhaust his energy. Even old age itself, the common and inevitable disease of man, though it might weaken, could not break his spirit. For even when past his eighty-third year he discussed weighty affairs of state with superior acuteness, his capacity and senses being still unimpaired. He was gifted with a retentive memory, which continued strong to the last. His old age was happy and venerable, without moroseness or anxiety, free from peevishness and the usual melancholy. And, to put the whole matter briefly, neither did old age change his disposition, which had always been excellent, nor until his last illness did he suffer anything which might lead him with justice to complain of old age."

Elphinstone was over eighty years of age when the war-clouds began to gather which burst with such awful disaster on the fatal field of Flodden. True to his pacific nature, the Bishop, knowing as

he did something about the horrors of war, joined in the opposition which was offered to the militant party. His remonstrances, however, were impotent in the face of the general fever to take arms against the "auld enemy," England, and the old man was insulted as a dotard, forgetful of the public weal, and the nation's ancestral honour. From the shock of Flodden, where "the flowers of the forest were a' wede away" when James and the better part of the nobility of Scotland perished, Elphinstone never recovered. Never again was he seen to smile, or to take delight in innocent mirth. His grief occasioned the disorder which brought him to his end."[71]

The boy Archbishop of St. Andrews, Alexander Stewart, an illegitimate son of the king, had fallen with his father on the field of battle, and Elphinstone was marked out as his successor. Boece says that he "stedfastly refused this crowning dignity,"[72] but this statement seems not to be strictly accurate.[73] However this may be, Elphinstone died before any appointment to the Primacy could be made. In spite of his poor health, he had travelled from Aberdeen to Edinburgh in the hope of settling the dissensions which had broken out among the nobles, and which raged

[71] Boece, p. 105. [72] p. 106.

[73] See the documents quoted by Dowden, *Bishops of Scotland*, pp. 129 and 130 n. 1.

until the time of the Reformation. When he arrived at the capital he was in a high fever, beyond the skill of physicians to cure. Yet such was his iron constitution that on the day before his death he attended service in the chapel and preached, and received the Holy Sacrament. In the evening he supped with some of the nobles who had come to comfort him, and next morning[74] he died, calling upon the name of Jesus the Saviour and of His Mother until speech failed him.[75]

When asked where he would be buried the dying prelate had said, "My soul I have long since given to God. Bury my body where ye please." It seemed most fitting that Aberdeen should be his burial place, and after his viscera had been removed and buried in the Black Friars' House, Edinburgh,[76] his embalmed body was brought to Aberdeen, and buried before the high altar of the chapel at King's College, "with a pomp more mournful than magnificent."[77] At the funeral, so Boece relates, the Bishop's pastoral staff, made of silver, was broken and part fell into the grave where the body was to be laid. Thereupon a voice, of uncertain origin (*incerta*

[74] 25th Oct., 1514. Dowden, *Bishops*, p. 130.
[75] Boece, p. 108. [76] Dowden, *Bishops*, p. 130.
[77] Boece, p. 109.

vox), was heard, "Thy mitre also, William, should be buried with thee."[78]

Thus passed away in a ripe old age and at the post of duty, this saintly Bishop. Many troubles he had to bear, and many anxious tasks to face, but he was happily spared from sadder things to come. His death was the cause of universal grief. The people of Aberdeen, citizens, women, and clergy alike, long mourned for him as for a father, saying sadly that "with him had perished the glory of Aberdeen, and also all their happiness."[79] The oratorical tribute with which Boece prefaced his biography has yet in it the touch of real personal feeling. "We have seen a man whom, on account of his rare excellence, we congratulate ourselves on having seen, and we feel and express and shall feel and express as long as we live, to Almighty God no ordinary gratitude for this high privilege."[80]

[78] Boece relates, in his credulous fashion, a number of prodigies which happened at that time.

[79] Boece, p. 111. [80] p. 58.

IV—THE REFORMATION PERIOD

John Erskine of Dun, Scottish Reformer and Superintendent

(Born 1509—Died 1589)

It may well seem a bold thing to attempt an account of that confused social, political, and religious revolution which is known as the Scottish Reformation, without making John Knox its central figure. The mere idea, indeed, of such a performance will doubtless present itself to many minds as an absurdity to be compared with the famous rendering of Shakespeare's play with the part of Hamlet left out. And yet there is both room and need, as will be shown, for such an outline of the Reformation period in Scotland as shall exhibit all the elements of the situation, not only those which Knox was so well qualified to represent, both in his character and in the history which he wrote, but also those more essential ones which the Knoxian tradition has tended to obscure. It is, of course, impossible to leave Knox out of any intelligible account of the Reformation, but it is possible, and in the interests of historical truth desirable, to assign to him the

position which he really seems to have occupied in that important movement.

Not that one forgets either the greatness of Knox's character, or the immense value of the services which he rendered to his nation. His character, indeed, presents a somewhat perplexing psychological problem to candid minds. To his multitude of friends and admirers he has appeared as an all but flawless apostle of Scottish Christianity, while his enemies and detractors have seen in him only the incarnation of all that was wrong and misguided in his time. Few independent students of his life, however, will accept either conclusion. One is alternately attracted and repelled by his character. His extraordinary vigour and intensity, the invincible integrity of his purpose, and the purity of his aims as a reformer command our admiration. When all men around him were enriching themselves with the spoils of the Church, he died a poor man, unsullied with the "merchandise" of the Reformation.[1] His human qualities, too, commend themselves to us, the pathos and the humour which so often dignify and illuminate the pages of his history, the softness of heart which made it difficult for him to punish his own children,[2] and which shewed itself in his tenderness towards a

[1] Merchandies haif I not maid." See his last will and testament. R. Bannatyne's *Memorials*, p. 370.

[2] Knox's *Works*, II, p. 388.

somewhat trying mother-in-law. But on the other hand we are confronted with that side of his character which made Cranmer class him amongst those "glorious[3] and unquiet spirits which can like nothing but that is after their own fancy," and which drew even from John Calvin a private condemnation of his "reckless arrogance."[4] Nor is it merely the violence of his opinions and of his language which offends,[5] for it might with some truth be contended that his bark was often worse than his bite. But his unfairness towards those who differed from him, well exemplified by his stooping to unworthy slander of Mary of Guise, the unchristian glee which he shews over such a case as the murder of Cardinal Beaton,[6] the bloodthirstiness of the counsels which he urged upon his fellow-citizens at different times, and his occasional unscrupulousness as a politician,[7] inspire one with sentiments of another kind than those of approval.

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[3] Braggart. Proctor and Frere, *History of Prayer Book*, p. 84.

[4] *Zurich Letters.* 2nd series, p. 35. (Parker Society.) *Ob inconsideratum unius hominis fastum.*

[5] "His favourite adjectives are 'bloody,' 'beastly,' 'rotten,' and 'stinking.'" Andrew Lang's *John Knox and the Reformation*, p. xi.

[6] "Other good men rejoiced in the murder of an enemy, but Knox chuckled." Lang, p. 17.

[7] See Hume Brown's *John Knox*, II, 57, where the author defends the case exemplified as the only lapse of the kind in Knox's career.

It is, however, when we try to estimate the true historical value of Knox's *History of the Reformation* that our chief difficulty arises. Knox's character repeats itself on every page of that work, which has been more than anything else responsible for the popular idea of the nature of the Scottish Reformation, and of the part which Knox played in it. Its striking literary qualities, its vigour and vivacious clearness, as well as those frequent touches of pathos and humour already referred to, have commended it to readers of history for centuries. It is, besides, our sole authority for a great portion of what we know, both about the Reformation and about Knox's part in it. But when we ask how far a violent partizan like Knox may be trusted on many points of critical importance, as to which he is our only informant, it is not mere prejudice that causes our hesitation to follow him implicitly.

On this point authorities have naturally differed, but in modern times this difficulty has been pretty well recognized. Thus Professor Hume Brown, who can in no way be described as a detractor of Knox, admits that the Reformer did not always represent the truth of things. He maintains, indeed, that "in the actual narrative we have convincing proof alike of the writer's good faith, and of his perception of the conditions

of historic truth,"[8] but points out that Knox did not scruple, when irritated, to misrepresent even the position of his own friends, the Protestant nobles. "According to his representation," says the biographer, "they played into the hands of Mary for their own selfish interests, and betrayed the Church to which they had professed their devotion. How far this was from the whole truth we have already seen; and in his later years Knox may himself have come to see that in his haste he had done gross injustice to certain men whom in his heart he regarded with affection and esteem."[9]

If Knox could deal thus with his friends, we may well ask how, good hater as he was, he was likely to represent the doings of his enemies. Mr. Andrew Lang has dealt with this aspect of the situation in his recent work,[10] and come to the conclusion that in his History Knox requires careful watching, as one who, both as a politician and an historian, sailed "as near the wind as he could."

We turn therefore with some feelings of relief to the life of John Erskine of Dun as one which presents us with fewer perplexities, whether psychological or historical. In him we have a reformer, of an entirely different type from that

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[8] *Life of John Knox*, II, p. 218. [9] *Ibid*, p. 221.
[10] *John Knox and the Reformation*, 1905, pp. ix, xi.

of Knox, whose importance in the Reformation movement has hardly been adequately recognized. He did not enjoy, as Knox did, the unique privilege of writing as well as making history, and in consequence his historical position has been obscured. Our information regarding his career has to be gleaned from two biographies of later date,[11] and from various documents and incidental historical notices which have come down to us. Yet such as it is, the material at our disposal throws a light upon the Scottish Reformation which Knox's History does not afford us. It will help us to understand that this momentous event was not a one-man affair, and that the views of all the reformers did not by any means coincide with those which are generally attributed to Knox.

It may seem unkind, in view of Scottish feeling on the subject, even to suggest that the Reformation could have taken place without John Knox, but such is the opinion of the Historiographer-Royal of Scotland. Professor Hume Brown declares that "even had Knox remained the rest of his days in Geneva, the revolution in

[11] The more important is that of the Presbyterian minister, the Rev. Robert Wodrow, who in the first quarter of the 18th century compiled his "Collections upon the lives of the Reformers and most eminent ministers of the Church of Scotland," of which the life of Erskine is the first. (Maitland Club. 1834.) The other is that of Bowick (1828) who, as a clerk in the office of the Town Clerk of Montrose, has access to local information.

Church and State must have come as the result of many combined forces moving to the same end." [12] Nay, more, he is even inclined to undervalue Knox's influence upon the actual settlement, such as it was, which was arrived at. "It may be safely said that had Scotland never seen him again [in 1560] the eventual direction both of politics and religion could not have been widely different from what it has actually been." As to the second of these propositions something might be said on the other side, but the first of them is self-evident to an open mind. And while it is possible to imagine a Scottish Reformation—and a much better one—without Knox, it is not so easy to picture it without such a man as Erskine of Dun.

The truth is that in the womb of the Reformation, in Scotland as elsewhere, there were two principles, not as yet strongly antagonistic, but destined to be set in bitter rivalry in the days to come, the catholic and the ultra-protestant. We should indeed be surprised if this were not so, for these two tendencies, the conservative and the revolutionary, are inherent in human thought and character, and their due interaction is necessary to all true and wise progress. We see them work-

[12] *Life of Knox*, I, 316. At the same time this author appraises Knox's influence in the highest terms. *e.g.*, on p. 268. "No single man did more than Knox to bring about these results."

ing on every side to-day in politics and learning, in practical affairs as well as theology, and indeed in every department of life. It would indeed be strange if so important and striking a period as that of the Reformation did not exhibit them at work, and if we set aside the glamour of the Knoxian tradition we can easily perceive them. If Knox and his friends stand for the root-and-branch policy, Erskine and the men who thought like him stand for moderation. It is true that the powerful forces arrayed against both classes of reformers and their sense of common danger welded them into a united body, and made them sink their differences for the common good. The result was, as we shall see, a compromise which was responsible for many of the subsequent religious troubles of Scotland.

Erskine was both by character and temperament peculiarly fitted to represent the moderate element in the Scottish Reformation. His gentle and gracious disposition won in a remarkable degree the respect and affection of his contemporaries. Knox, to his credit be it said, appreciated to the full the qualities of one who was so unlike himself in this respect. Erskine was, he says, "a man most gentle of nature," and "a man of meek and gentle spirit." [18] He also records an instance of the high estimation in which

[18] *Works*, I, p. 317, and II, 386.

Queen Mary held his milder colleague. In 1565 she took occasion to assure the superintendents Willock, Winram, and Spottiswoode of her beneficent wishes, saying that she would be content to hear public preaching from such as pleased her, and especially that "she would gladly hear the Superintendent of Angus (for he was a mild and sweet-natured man) with true honesty and uprightness, John Erskine of Dun." That these enconiums were thoroughly deserved, and that Erskine stands out as the leading conciliatory figure in the Scottish Reformation, will be made clear in the following narrative.

Another point deserves prominence. Of Erskine it may be said that more than any other man he bore the burden and heat of the Reformation day. Of all the leaders in that movement he is by far the earliest on the scene, and when he died in 1589, the last of the Superintendents, he had outlived Knox and all the other prominent actors in the events of 1560. While Knox himself was a member of what he calls "the synagogue of Satan," and even before he had become one of the "rotten priests of Baal," Erskine was already known as one who was "marvellously illuminated" by God, and the friend of a protestant martyr.[14] And for the long period of fifty-five years we find him labouring in the cause of religious re-

[14] In the year 1534. Knox's *Works*, I, 59.

form, both as a layman, and as an officebearer in the new Kirk. He was peculiarly fitted both by his birth and by his public career to render services of the highest value to the cause which he had espoused. His family connections enabled him to act as the chief connecting link between the members of the nobility and the general body of the reformers, while his manysided and practical experience of public life as a soldier, a statesman, an administrator of justice, and the head of a municipality, imparted a special weight and authority to his counsels.

The future reformer was born in the year 1509.[15] The mansion of Dun, which now possesses only an old gateway of the house in which he is said to have first seen the light, is situated in the north-east of Forfarshire, about four miles inland from the seaport town of Montrose. If John Erskine was born at Dun House, his family must have lived there on the patriarchal system, as it was his grandfather who was the Laird at that time. The race to which he belonged was an ancient and honourable one. The first Erskine of Dun known to history lived in the reign of David II., and was the ancestor of the Lords Erskine and Earls of Mar.[16] The mother of our Erskine

[15] 5th Report of the Historical M.S.S. Commission, p. 633b.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 633a.

was Margaret, Lady Ruthven, widow of Alexander, the second Earl of Buchan.

When Erskine was only four years of age, and happily too young to understand the meaning of his loss, the woeful day of Flodden deprived him not only of his father, but of almost all his nearest male relatives. The Lairds of Dun as barons were bound, according to feudal law, to render military service to the Crown when called upon, and most of the able-bodied men of the family seem to have followed James IV. on his fatal expedition. On the battlefield there fell amongst the others John the Laird of Dun, with his brother Thomas, and his two sons, Sir John, the reformer's father, and Alexander.

Thus bereft of his father's care, the child was fortunate indeed in having for guardian his uncle, Sir Thomas Erskine of Brechin, a man of worth and wisdom, and a prominent and influential figure in his day, as Secretary to King James V. Under the charge of his uncle the boy received, beyond doubt, an education befitting his station. "No doubt," says Wodrow, "the heir of this family had all the education Scotland could then afford him, and I am ready to think some forraigne accessions also, in France, wher the law and languages wer now taught in great perfection, upon the late revival of learning."[17] The University of Aberdeen

[17] *Collections*, p. 4.

claims the reformer as an alumnus, but the manuscript records are not extant for his date. Erskine's subsequent appearance as an efficient soldier shows that he must also have been carefully trained in military exercises, and the opportunities which he must have enjoyed of meeting prominent people in his uncle's house, may also be set down amongst the factors of his education.

Only a few particulars can now be gleaned as to the Reformer's youth. Among his friends at this period were two local families which became prominent on different sides of the Scottish Reformation — the Paniters and the Melvilles. It appears from various documents that Erskine, while yet a boy, was on close terms with David Paniter, the Commendator of Cambuskenneth, and with other members of that influential family; while on the other hand the father of Andrew Melville the famous Presbyterian reformer, was one of his curators in 1526. Thus his young mind probably received important impressions from both sides of the religious movement of his times, and it may be that in that way he afterwards came to occupy his position as a moderate reformer.[18]

According to the custom of the period Erskine was married at an early age. A contract of marriage, dated 1522, provides that John Erskine of Dun is to marry and have to wife Elizabeth Lind-

[18] Report of M.S.S. V. pp. 633-4.

say, daughter of David, Earl of Crawford, whenever he should arrive at the "perfect age of fourteen years." At this tender age, it appears from the same document, the young Laird came into the possession of his lands,[19] and he is to bestow upon his sister Katharine a year's profit of the whole of his lands for her marriage. The eldest son of this union, John by name, succeeded his father at an early age as fiar or possessor of Dun, for in the year 1534-5 Erskine resigned to him the fee of the lands and barony, reserving his own life-rent, and his wife's terce.[20] This curious custom seems to have prevailed in the family, no doubt for some adequate reason, and has caused no little confusion between the different Lairds of Dun.[21] Besides the fiar there were other sons, William, James, Thomas, Alexander, and Robert.[22]

Erskine had hardly reached the age of twenty-one when a tragic event occurred which must have cast a terrible gloom over his mind. In some unexplained manner he was responsible for the death of a priest in Montrose. Our only information on this sad affair is a document dated 5th

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[19] *Ibid.*, p. 639b. In 1525 the customs of Montrose were made over by the Earl of Crawford to his son-in-law. Wodrow. *Coll.*, p. 409, xvii.

[20] Wodrow, p. 409. [21] Spalding Club, *Misc.* IV, x.

[22] Wodrow, p. 439. Erskine's first wife must have died before 1543, for in that year Barbara Beirle is named as his spouse, and as having borne children, p. 410, xxiii, p. 411, xxvii.

February, 1530, which narrates that, in the presence of a notary-public and witnesses, the worthy man, James Froster, burger of Montrose, on behalf of himself, his wife Egidia Ros, and their heirs, etc., acknowledged having received from John Erskine of Dun, full and complete assythment and satisfaction for the killing of their son, Sir[23] William Froster, a chaplain within the burgh of Montrose, slain in the bell-tower of the same." No explanation is given how the tragedy took place, nor is it even said that Erskine was responsible for the deed, but there is no question that he was the responsible party.

It has, however, been too easily assumed that Erskine was guilty of a criminal act.[24] While it is true that in the modern legal practice of Scotland assythment is held to involve crime, in earlier times this was not always necessarily the case.[25] A homicide might pay assythment, not merely in order to procure a "letter of slains" to produce to the king that he might sue for a royal pardon for his crime, but also in way of damages for the result of an act of innocent intention. We have now the best possible evidence that Erskine was in the latter case. A very interesting and important letter of his was discovered

[23] A common designation of priests before the Reformation.

[24] *e.g.*, Hume Brown, I, 299. Lang, p. 63.

[25] See Appendix D. on *Assythment*.

about 1876 in which he gives James VI. an account of his career as it presented itself to him at the end of his life, hoping, as he says, that ere a year be passed he "sal be delyverit fra the bondage of corruptione." In it these remarkable words occur: "I haif ever bein obedient to your Majesties lawes, ordinances, and proclamationes. I haif usit me sua that my nychtbouris complenit nocht on me. *I wes never accusit for cryme befoir your graces justice. I tuik never remissione for ony offence,* in respect of the quhilk your Majestie aucht the mair to regaird me."[26]

The references to crime and remission obviously refer to Froster's death, and shew that to the end of his life Erskine's memories of it were keen, and perhaps bitter. It may well be that slanderous accounts[27] of the affair had been circulated by his enemies, to his intense pain. However that may be, the death of Froster was caused by no guilty act, but was probably either the result of a sheer accident, or the untimely outcome of a young man's foolish prank.[28]

It has been conjectured that immediately after this untimely event, Erskine travelled abroad for some time, and thereby came in contact with re-

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[26] Report M.S.S., V, 636.

[27] Compare for slanders of Knox, Hume-Brown, II, 303.

[28] Amongst the traditions of Aberdeen University is that of "Downie's slauchter," in which the death of a college servant was caused by fright in the course of a mock trial.

formed opinions on the Continent. Of this we have no direct proof, but various royal licenses granted to Erskine at somewhat later dates to travel on the Continent for lengthened periods, make the supposition a likely one.[29] Had he indeed availed himself to the full of the permissions granted, Erskine would have spent at home only a small portion of the years from 1540 to 1550, but we shall see that this was not the case.

Before this period, however, the Laird of Dun was known as a friend of the new opinions. In the year 1534, David Stratoun, a brother of the Laird of Lauriston in Kincardineshire, was burnt in Edinburgh for heresy. Of him it is related that his conversion had completely changed his character from stubbornness and carelessness towards religion, to piety and gentleness. In this connection we are told that "he frequented much the company of the Lard of Dun, whome God, in those dayis, had marvelouslie illuminated."[30] Whether Erskine had imbibed his new religious views in a previous residence among foreign reformers, or whether the facilities afforded by the

[29] In 1542 two separate licenses were granted to Erskine and a party of friends to travel into France, Italy, or any other parts beyond the sea for two years in the one case, and for three years in the other. In 1545-6 he was permitted to travel abroad for five years. Hist. M.S.S. Report, V, 639-640. In the Spalding Miscellany (IV, 30), the second of these three licenses is dated 1537.

[30] Knox's *Works*, I, 59.

neighbouring port of Montrose for hearing the news and acquiring the literature of the reformation movement on the Continent sufficiently explain his position, he stands out at the age of twenty-five as an eminent champion of religious reform. It may well be, as Wodrow says, that at this time the house of Dun was "a little sanctuary" to those who wanted safety and protection, while his conversation was very useful to such as needed not shelter.[21] One result of Erskine's residence abroad had a remarkable influence upon the reformation movement, the introduction of a learned Frenchman, Petrus de Marsiliers, as teacher of Greek in the school of Montrose. Up to this period Greek was "nocht heard of before" in Scotland,[22] and amongst the pupils whom the new study attracted were two who afterwards left their mark in different ways upon the religious changes of Scotland. One was George Wishart, whose influence afterwards upon the religious awakening of John Knox was so great, and the other was Andrew Melville, the real founder of Presbyterianism in Scotland.

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[21] *Collections*, p. 7.

[22] James Melville's diary, p. 31. Dr. Morland Simpson however points out that in 1540 young scholars of Aberdeen delivered Greek orations in the presence of King James, a fact which may presuppose that Greek was taught in Aberdeen long before 1534. *Bon Record*, 1906, pp. viii and ix.

When Wishart, after six years' residence in England, Germany, and Switzerland, returned to Scotland in 1544 or 1545, he naturally included Montrose among the scenes of his ministrations, and doubtless found a refuge in the house of Dun. Knox informs us that it was "sore against the judgment of the Lard of Dune" [83] that Wishart started out on his last preaching campaign. As we shall see, Erskine was on intimate terms with Cardinal Beaton at the time, and could foresee some, if not all, of the consequences which were to follow. However, his remonstrances were of no avail, and Wishart proceeded to Lothian. Knox, inflamed by his preaching, now appeared as an adherent of the reformed opinions, carrying at least on one occasion the two-handed sword which apparently belonged to Wishart.[84] Then the tragic chain of events took place. Wishart was seized, tried, and executed. Beaton was murdered in the castle of St. Andrews two months later, and Knox joined the company of the murderers in the castle. The castle was besieged and taken by the help of the French, and Knox and his companions were carried away to the prisons and the galleys of France. How different all might have been had Wishart listened to the Laird of Dun! There might have been one Protestant martyr the less, Beaton might not have succumbed to the disgrace-

[83] *Works*, I, 132. [84] I, 139.

ful schemes of England against his life, and for all that we know, John Knox might have remained to the end of his days an obscure priest of the diocese of St. Andrews.

To Erskine the situation must have been peculiarly painful. If Wishart's death deprived him of a dear friend, united to him both by local ties and religious sympathies, the loss of Beaton, the last great champion of patriotic resistance to England, must have also been a severe blow to him. In a letter to Erskine, written less than two years before his murder, the Cardinal refers with appreciation to the loyalty of his "rycht honorable and traist cousing," and to his efforts to procure that of his great friends, promising to "procure and fortifie" his higher honour and weal, and those of his house and friends.[35] From this, as well as from the narrative which follows, it is clear that Erskine still shared in the political views which then prevailed in Scotland. While there was a strong party in favour of an alliance with England,[36] the main sentiment of the country was in favour of the ancient friendship with France, and against the "auld enemy" across the border. Later on the tide of feeling turned, with important results for the success of the Reformation movement, but as yet a man of Erskine's religious sympathies might, from purely patriotic

[35] Report M.S.S. Com. V. 635 Spald. Mis. IV, 45.
[36] Hume Brown, I, 269 n. 2.

motives, be found on the side of the country whose influence was the greatest obstacle in the way of religious reform.

We need not therefore be surprised to find that while Knox was languishing as a prisoner in a French galley, Erskine was winning renown as a soldier in a campaign conducted by French troops in Scotland. In a letter which has already been referred to,[87] he thus describes his services at this time: "In the weires we had with Ingland, quhen the Inglis men possessit Dondie, Bruchtie Craig and the forth thair, I defendit the contre at my power fra their invasiones, at the desire of the queinis grace regent, and Duck of Chatilroy,[88] thane gouernor. A biggit ane forth [fort] in Montrois, tuik up ane gret number of men of weir for a lang time and furnisit all of my awin guidis, sua that the sowmes debursit by me exceidit tuentie thousand markis as the comptis buir, and yet may be sein." [89]

The situation which had arisen was as follows: An English force of 18,000 men had invaded Scotland little more than a month after the capture of the Castle of St. Andrews, in order to force a

[87] See page 127.

[88] Châtelheralt, formerly Earl of Arran.

[89] Report. M.S.S. Com., V, 636. A letter of Mary of Guise to Erskine, dated 11th Jan., 1547-8, conveys her sense of the importance of his services, and her thanks for his having "chosin the best part." Spalding Club Misc., IV, p. 48. *Cf.*, 49, and 50.

marriage between the boy King Edward VI. and the young Scottish Queen Mary. The disastrous battle of Pinkie had paralysed the Scottish defence and enabled the English to occupy Haddington and other strong situations. In this extremity recourse was had to France, with two important results. A French army arrived in Scotland, and the little Queen of Scots was sent for safety to France, as the Dauphin's destined bride.

In the military events which followed, and which eventually resulted in the withdrawal of the English troops,[40] Erskine played a gallant part. His name appears again and again with words of cordial praise in the chronicle of a Frenchman who accompanied the expedition,[41] and we may infer that the Scottish Laird was a favourite in the camp of his Gallic comrades. He seems at first to have been attached to the intelligence department of the French force,[42] but we soon find him in the thick of the fighting which took place around the stronghold of Haddington.[43] Erskine and Lord Hume, at the head of the troops which they had led to the war, distinguished themselves in several fierce cavalry charges, and, as the chronicler says, proved themselves Scottish gentlemen of loyalty and valour. "Very few men," he says

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[40] After the peace of Boulogne, in April 1550.

[41] *Historie de la guerre d'Ecosse, 1548 et 1549*, par Jean de Beaugué. (Maitland Club publications, 1830.)

[42] pp. 11, 15, 35. [43] pp. 45, 46.

with true French politeness, "will you find in the whole world equipped with greater prowess, more valiant and experienced in war." [44]

It was, however, at his own town of Montrose that Erskine performed his most signal exploit against the English. He had been invalided home at a critical juncture of the campaign. The English fleet had taken the opportunity while the land forces were engaged, of making a raid upon the northern coasts. Erskine seems, however, to have had early notice of their intention, and all his way home he raised the country by causing alarm fires to be lighted.[45] On arriving at Montrose he promptly took measures to defend the town, and the fertile "Howe o' the Mearns" behind it. Ill as he was, he visited the fort nightly, to see that all was in order, and spared himself in no way for, as he often said, "Men of honour, being obliged to fear shame, are also bound not to shun dangers and troubles." [46] In his double capacity as Provost of Montrose and Constable[47] of the fort, he was the natural leader of the countryside, and the town of Dundee sent one hundred soldiers to his assistance, and ordered the burghers to watch and ward with him as he should direct.[48]

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[44] p. 56. [45] Wodrow's *Coll.*, p. 428 n. [46] Beaugé, p. 66.

[47] He is mentioned as Provost in Jan. 1451, and in Feb. of the same year he was appointed by his uncle to the constabulary, with its lands, fishing, etc. Wodrow, pp, 409, 410. [48] Wodrow, p. 429.

Erskine's vigilance was rewarded when, one night, the lights of the approaching ships were seen. He promptly made his preparations in such a way as not to undeceive a foe that expected little or no opposition to their landing. Dividing his forces into three parties, he adopted a strategy similar to that of Bruce at Bannockburn. The least effective part of his men he posted behind a neighbouring hill, while a second band was hidden behind the defences of the fort. Putting himself at the head of the main body, the Constable cleverly drew the invaders within reach of his reserves in the fort, and then at the proper moment the hidden band of undisciplined servants and others shewed themselves. Terrified at the sight, the English fled to their ships, leaving hundreds of their fellows dead, and Dun was left "with the glory of a victory that was owing not only to valour and vigilancy, but to a nice piece of martial cunning." [46]

The value of this episode is that it reveals in a striking way some important qualities of Erskine's character. Beneath his gentle manner and his conciliatory disposition there were other elements which historians of the Reformation have scarcely perceived. He was certainly not the facile and easily persuaded personage whom Presbyterian writers have sometimes represented him to

[46] Beaugué, p. 65. Buchanan *Opera* Ed. Ruddiman, I, 301, Bowicks *Life*, pp. 59-67.

have been. His personal courage,[50] his dash and vigour, his vigilance and his resource alike condemn these suggestions, and give us the right clue to the nature of his work as a reformer.

Of the details of that work during the next few years we have no information, but when Knox[51] visited Scotland in 1555, after a busy and tumultuous career as a reformer in England and on the Continent, he was amazed at the change which had taken place. "If I had not seen it with my eyes in my own country," he writes, "I could not have believed it."[52] Not only had the number of adherents of the new views increased,[53] but their fervency far exceeded "all others" that he had seen. In Edinburgh he lodged at the house of one James Syme, and began to preach there in secret. Among his auditors were, he informs us, the Laird of Dun, who soon took occasion to bring about a notable conference on an important part of Knox's teaching. Up to that time many who were zealous in the cause had not scrupled to attend Mass, but Knox denounced this course, as communication with idolatry. Erskine accord-

[50] Spottiswoode remarks on his "singular courage." *History*, II, 412.

[51] Knox is our principal informant as to Dun.

[52] *Works*, IV, 217, 218.

[53] A little before Knox's arrival the faithful in Edinburgh had been formed into one congregation by Erskine's advice, and he taught them sometimes in private houses. Wodrow. *Collections*. p. 12.

ingly held a supper party to give Knox an opportunity of discussing the matter with David Forrest, Robert Lockhart, John Willock, and Maitland of Lethington. According to Knox, he gained his point, for "the Messe began to be abhorred of such as befoir used it for the fassioun, and avoiding of sclander (as then thei termed it)."[54]

After this momentous decision had been arrived at, Knox visited Erskine at his place of Dun, where he remained a month, daily exercising in doctrine, to which, he informs us, resorted the principal men of that part of the country.[55] Later on he paid a second visit to Dun, where he not only preached in greater liberty, but ministered "the Table of the Lord Jesus" to the greater part of the gentlemen of the Mearns.[56]

By this time, however, Knox's doings had come to the ears of the Church authorities, and he was summoned to appear in the Church of the Black Friars in Edinburgh. The trial, however, was never held, for Erskine, "with diverse otheris gentilmen" accompanied their preacher to Edinburgh, ready to support him before his judges, and the courage of the Bishops failed them at the last moment.[57] Knox, in spite of this triumph, considered that his work lay in Geneva, and in July, 1556, he returned to his flock there. That Erskine's boldness in sheltering Knox and cham-

[54] *Works*, I, 246-8. [55] p. 249. [56] p. 250. [57] I, 251.

pioning his cause brought him into no disrepute in high quarters is shewn by his appearance as Justice-depute at a "Justice-aire" held in Elgin in the month following.[58] As the holder of a barony, he had the power of pit and gallows within his own jurisdiction, but here we see him employed as a judge in another capacity. The cases with which he had to deal seem to have been of a trivial character.

As the current of the Reformation begins to flow more strongly and swiftly, Erskine's position as a reformer becomes more clearly defined. He was one of those who in 1557 signed the first bond of the Lords of the congregation (as the leading reformers were now called), whereby they pledged themselves to defend the Reformation with their substance and their lives.[59] In 1558 he became an exhorter or lay preacher of the "Privy Kirk," and apparently an elder as well.[60] At the same time he was one of the commissioners sent to France to arrange the marriage of Queen Mary in 1557, while two years later he was appointed factor, "because of his faith, conscience, and piety towards the poor," of the Blackfriars' monastery

[58] Pitcairn's *Criminal trials*, I, 389.

[59] *Works*, I, 273. The other signatories mentioned are the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, Morton, and Lord Lorne.

[60] *Works*, I, 300.

in Montrose, which had been raided, the property of which was now to be given to the poor.[a]

What may be called the first crisis of the Scottish Reformation took place in that year and the following one. A last effort had been made by the party of Catholic reform, in the shape of certain articles of reformation drawn up by a number of influential laymen and submitted to the last Provincial Council held in Scotland. No drastic change was demanded, except reform in the lives and labours of the Bishops and clergy. However, this last chance of reforming and yet saving the Church was lost. A number of the familiar ineffective canons were drawn up, and some Protestant preachers were banned for administering the Sacraments. Then it would seem as if Erskine and the reformers in his district lost patience, or despaired of a pacific reform. The Protestant preachers had been summoned to appear before the Justiciary Court in Stirling on May 10th, and just as Erskine had some years ago led a band of Fifeshire gentlemen to Edinburgh in defence of Knox, so now he seems to have been the leader in a still more important demonstration. It is not Knox's way to make anyone but himself the central

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[a] Letter of Francis and Mary. Hist. M.S.S. Report, V, 640. The language of the letter itself however, suggests a later date than Feb. 1559, but see below.

In 1567 one of the Reformer's sons, Alexander, received a "tack" of this property. Wodrow, p. 410.

figure of the Reformation, but when he tells us that the town of Dundee and the gentlemen of Angus and Mearns[83] were the demonstrators, we can have little doubt as to who was the leader in the expedition[84] to Perth.

Both sides were unwilling to precipitate a conflict, and Erskine appears prominently in the negotiations which took place. "Zealous, prudent, and Godly man," as Knox declares him to have been, he shewed also his personal courage and his desire for peace by going to the Queen Regent at Stirling to declare that he and his friends were there for the purpose only of giving confession with the preachers, and of assisting them in their just defence.[85] The Regent, according to Knox, set herself to "craft" with Erskine, who, as "a man most gentle of nature, and most addict to please her in all things not repugnant to God," wrote to his fellow-reformers in Perth, advising them not to come to Stirling. When, however, the preachers were outlawed, Erskine prudently withdrew from the royal city, and joined his fellows at Perth.

Thus when Knox arrived from abroad and reached that town, what was practically a state of civil war was in existence, and Erskine and other

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[83] I, 317.

[84] Knox assures us that they were unarmed, but this is far from likely.

[85] He also wrote a letter of protest to the Regent. See below page 154.

leaders were deeply committed to a struggle the outcome of which no one could foresee. Knox's main contribution to the situation was the stirring up of the "rascal multitude" to the rabbling of the ecclesiastical buildings in Perth. At that period there was an enormous number of sturdy beggars in Scotland who wandered over the whole country and were a standing menace to society. Naturally they flocked to Perth when the news spread as to what was going on, and proved themselves most admirable auditors to Knox's fiery denunciations of idolatry.[65] A riot took place in the Church of St. John the Baptist after the reformer had preached, and for two days the mob ravaged and pillaged at their will. For the time being these new converts to Protestantism were deeply attached to their leader, and wherever Knox went, he left a trail of destruction behind him. It has been claimed for Knox that he tried, although in vain, to prevent the destruction of Scone Abbey, and doubtless he and "men of greatest estimation" did, as he says, labour with all diligence for the safety of it.[66] The reason, however, of their unusual diligence on this occasion was probably not

[65] Knox is not quite disingenuous in this connection, however. While he lays the blame on the "rascal multitude" in his History, in a private letter written at the time, he describes the destruction as the work of "the brethren." *Works*, VI, 23.

[66] I, 362.

unconnected with the fact that no less a person than Erskine of Dun was the lease-holder of Scone, and for all that one knows, likely to be a large loser himself by the reforming zeal of the mob.[67]

In the negotiations with the Queen Regent which followed, Erskine took a leading part,[68] and in June we find him at St. Andrews in the company of Knox, to whose efforts the "reformation" of that town a few days after their arrival may be set down.[69] He attended with other reformers the "communing at Preston,[70] and when the bold step was taken of disowning allegiance to the Queen Regent, Erskine signed the document as one of the Barons.[71] The arrival of additional troops from France in her support made it necessary to appeal to England for help, and Erskine's name is one of those appended to the letter of instructions to the commissioners who went to Berwick to treat with the representatives of Elizabeth.[72] By the aid of English gold, English arms, and an English

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[67] See Hist. M.S.S. Com., V, p. 640, no. 61. Lease of the Abbey of Scone for 19 years to Erskine, by Patrik, Bishop of Moray and Commendator of Scone, 1546-7. Erskine seems to have had a lease of the Deanery of Aberdeen in 1564. Wodrow, p. 411.

[68] Knox, I, 337, 341. [69] I, 346. [70] I, 369.

[71] I, 451. The other signatories were, the Earls of Arran, Argyle, Glencairn, Lord James Stewart, Lord Ruthven, The Master of Maxwell, the Lairds of Tullibardine and Pitarrow, the provost of Aberdeen.

[72] II, 56.

fleet, the reformers were now able to contend on equal terms with Mary of Lorraine's French and Scottish forces. This strange phase of the Scottish Reformation was, however, terminated by the Regent's death, and the subsequent treaty of Edinburgh, by which it was agreed that the religious questions at issue should be settled at a meeting of Parliament, beginning on the first of August, 1560, subject to the confirmation of Queen Mary and her husband.

The reformers, representing though they did only a minority of the people of Scotland, lost no time in settling matters as far as they could.[73] Ministers were appointed to Edinburgh, St. Andrews, Aberdeen, Perth, Jedburgh, Dundee, Dunfermline, and Perth, Knox being placed in charge of the faithful in the capital city. Superintendents were also appointed to the charge of various districts, to administer discipline and to further the spread of the Reformation, Willock to Glasgow, Erskine to Angus and Mearns,[74] Carswell to Argyle and the Isles, Spottiswoode, father of the future Archbishop, to Lothian, and Winram to Fife.

As Erskine was a layman when appointed to this office, and as the superintendents have been

[73] They seem even to have published Protestant manifestoes in the name of Francis and Mary. Wodrow, pp. 18, 321-2.

[74] The shires of Forfar and Kincardine.

for centuries a fruitful theme of controversy, it is of great interest to read our reformer's opinions on the subject. In the first place he seems to have distinguished between an ordinary and an extraordinary ministry in the Church. A letter which appears to have been written by him to the Queen Regent at the beginning[75] of the struggle which has been briefly described, contains these remarkable words: "Howbeit God has appointed in the Kirk *ordinary vocation to continue,* yet is He not Himself so astricted thereunto, but he may and does send oft times persons *called by Himself extraordinarily,* and that happens most commonly when the ordinary ministers are corrupt." To such a defence of the preachers, admitting as it did the position of the unreformed clergy, Knox would hardly have subscribed, and we may infer that the letter was despatched before his arrival in Perth. It throws an important light, however, upon Erskine's acceptance of this office. He was not, in his own estimation, a layman masquerading as a cleric, but one who, like the prophets of old, had received an extraordinary commission from God Himself. On the other point, the nature of the office of superintendent, Erskine's opinions were expressed with equal clearness, in a letter of the year 1571: "To the office of a Bishop per-

[75] 6th May, 1559. Spalding Club Misc., IV, 88.

taineth examination and admission to spiritual cure and office, and also to oversee them that are admitted, that they walk uprightly, and also exercise their office faithfully and purely. To take this power from a Bishop or superintendent, is to take away the office of a Bishop, *that no Bishop be in the Kirk, which were to alter and abolish the order that God hath appointed in his Kirk.* . . . I understand a Bishop and a superintendent to be but one office, and where the one is, the other is." [16]

That this conception differs entirely from the account of the superintendents given by Knox in his version of the Book of Discipline is, of course, incontestable. According to Knox, a difference was made among the preachers only for a time, to meet the peculiar difficulties of the situation. Yet it is remarkable to find that even in the scheme given by Knox, the superintendents were each appointed to a "diocese," and that the following apparently inconsistent provision occurs: *"In this present necessitie,* the nomination, examination,

[16] Wodrow's *Collections*, pp. 37 and 39. The worthy Wodrow makes the following extraordinary deduction from the letter (p. 42). "It is very plain by this letter, that in the Superintendent's judgment, Bishops, Superintendents, *Pastors* and *Ministers*, were one and the same office." He is not by any means the only Scottish writer who has faced the facts of history with a veil over his eyes.

and admission of superintendents cannot be so strait as we require, and *as afterward it must be.*"[77] Archbishop Spottiswoode, too, in his History, omits in his version of the Book of Discipline the references which point to the temporary appointment of the superintendents, and as the son of a superintendent, he must have had excellent information.[78] On the whole, therefore, one is inclined either to turn against Knox the criticism which David Laing uttered against Spottiswoode in this connection, "that implicit reliance should not be placed on [his] fidelity,"[79] or to suppose that two versions of the Book of Discipline were current, representing the views respectively of the moderate men and of the extremists.[80]

To complete our account of the superintendents, their name may have been suggested by the German *Superattendenten or Superintendenten,* who were permanent officials charged with ecclesiastical supervision.[81] The number of superintendents in Scotland is believed never to have been extended beyond the original five, and yet one is perplexed to find in a document of 1569, seven superintendents mentioned, among whom are Knox

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[77] See *Works,* II, pp. 201, 203, 205. [78] Vol. I, p. 342.

[79] Knox's *Works,* II, 589.

[80] It is to be remembered that the Book of Discipline never was accepted.

[81] Hume Brown. *Life of Knox,* II, 133.

and three others not of the original number.[82] Beyond the essential fact that they lacked consecration, the superintendents were very different from Bishops in respect that they were subject to the discipline of the Kirk, and liable to be removed from office.

When Parliament met, the knell of the ecclesiastical system which had prevailed in Scotland for more than four centuries was sounded. A Calvinistic confession of faith, declaring the Kirk to be invisible, and known only to God, was accepted,[83] the jurisdiction of the Pope was abolished, and the celebration of the Mass prohibited under penalties of confiscation, exile, and death, for the first, second, and third offence, while the Bishops and other prelates were forbidden to use jurisdiction in time to come by the Bishop of Rome's authority.[84] The office of Bishop, be it observed, was not abolished, and the door was thus left open for the episcopate to join the reformers. A few months later the Book of Discipline, containing the new polity, ecclesiastical, educational, and

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[82] Hist. M.S.S. Commission, VI, 645-6. The document is a copy of an assignation of money and oats by the superintendents for the Regent's house, and bears to be subscribed by the superintendent's hands, *ut infra* Erskine, Winram and Spottiswoode, Andrew Hay, John Knox, David Lindsay. Robert Pont agrees etc.

[83] *Works*, II, p. 109. *Acts Parl. Scot.*, Vol. II, 24th Aug., 1560.

[84] II, p. 125.

social, of the invisible Kirk was presented to Parliament, but although subscribed by many individual nobles and barons, it did not pass into law. Its framers seem to have expected that the possessions of the old Church would straightway pass into the custody of the new establishment, but their hopes were rudely disappointed. Knox found that to pull down and destroy was one thing, but to build up quite another.

In truth the Kirk invisible found at first but a precarious footing in the chaotic situation which the Reformation had produced. Of the Roman Bishops, three joined the reformers,[86] while some at least of their fellows remained in Scotland, sat in Parliament, and probably enjoyed a considerable share of their former revenues. When vacancies occurred the Pope continued to "provide" successors to bishoprics, notwithstanding the Act of Parliament.[86] And the lot of the clergy was not what one would have expected. In spite of all Knox's violent invectives they were treated with great consideration. Two-thirds of the free ecclesiastical revenues are said to have remained in the hands of the clerics, by way of vested life-interest.[87] All Bishops, Abbots, Priors,

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[86] Bishop Bothwell of Orkney, and the Bishops of Galloway and Caithness. The two former seem to have been consecrated, while the third was a layman. See Dowden, *Scottish Bishops*, pp. 250, 268, 349, 375.

[86] Dowden, pp. 191, 207, 228, 229.

and other prelates and beneficed men who professed adhesion to the new regime, were allowed to retain the life rent of their benefices on condition that they maintained reformed ministers in their several parishes and districts.[87] Such professions were doubtless often of a very formal character, if indeed tendered at all. Even the inmates of the nunneries were provided for. The prioress of Elcho, for instance, enjoyed until her death, in 1570, the revenues of the parish kirk of Dun, under the eye of the superintendent himself,[88] and there are similar cases on record. The whole situation makes it difficult to accept Knox as in all respects the representative figure of the Reformation. He was, in the words of a Presbyterian historian,[89] "unquestionably a great instrument in effecting the Reformation; but we are inclined to regard the preacher as an instrument in the hands of the barons, rather than the barons as instruments in the hands of the preacher."

As a superintendent Erskine, as may be im-

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[87] *Statutes of the Scottish Church.* Dr. Patrick, 1907. p. CV.

[88] Knox, II, 257.

[88] Hist. M.S.S. Com., V, p. 634. This is an act of admission by the Superintendent to James Erskine, into the parsonage of Dun, "vacant through the decease of umwhile Dame Euphame Leslie, late prioress of Elcho, which parsonage sometime pertained to the priory of Elcho."

[89] Dr. Cunningham, *Church History of Scotland,* I, 279. (2nd ed.)

agined, did not give complete satisfaction to the more violent of his associates. He was accused before the General Assembly in 1563 of allowing "discipline" to be neglected in many kirks of Angus and Mearns. It was also alleged that he preached not in his visitations; and that being burdened with the visitation of the north, he could not attend upon the charge allotted him.[91] On more than one occasion he sought to be relieved from his office,[92] but the Assembly would not accept his resignation. Instead, he was appointed Moderator in 1565 and the two following years, and when young King James was crowned at Stirling in 1567, it was Erskine who, along with Spottiswoode, the superintendent of Lothian, and Bothwell, the Bishop of Orkney, set the crown upon his head.

Whatever the extremists may have thought, Erskine had no lack of reforming zeal. In 1562 we find him delating before the Assembly one Robert Cumyn, schoolmaster in Arbroath, "for infecting the youth committed to his charge with idolatry," [93] and seven years later, when he was commissioned with the task of reforming the University of Aberdeen, which still clung to the old religious traditions, he deposed from office the Principal, Sub-Principal, and three Regents or

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[91] Knox, VI, 387. [92] Wodrow, p. 21 [93] Knox, II, 363.

professors, thus effectually purging "that nursery of learning."[94]

In the last of Knox's famous interviews with Queen Mary, Erskine had a characteristic share. The famous preacher had been summoned to Holyrood to give account of a sermon in which he had inveighed against Mary's rumoured project of marriage with Don Carlos of Spain. He attended with a group of friends, but Erskine of Dun, who as we have seen was a *persona grata* with Mary, was the only one allowed to enter Mary's "cabinet" with Knox. The interview followed the usual lines, and the Queen was reduced to "owling" and tears. At this point Erskine intervened, and, according to Knox, "entreated what he could to mitigate her anger, and gave unto her many pleasing words of her beauty, of her excellence, and how that all the princes of Europe would be glad to seek her favours. But all that was to cast oil in the flaming fire."[95] This sounds more like burlesque, however, than a real account of what Erskine would have said, and may be put down to Knox's sense of humour. The really humorous sequel was not seen in that light by Knox. He was ordered to leave the Queen's presence, while Erskine and Lord John of Coldingham spent nearly an hour attempting to appease the royal wrath. When Erskine left the cabinet he was doubtless startled

[94] Wodrow, p. 22, etc. [95] *Works*, II, 388.

to find Knox in the ante-chamber, haranguing the queen's ladies on their gorgeous apparel, for he carried him off from the dangerous precincts without delay.

A curious episode is related by Wodrow[96] in connection with the murder of Regent Moray in 1570. Knox, as is well known, believed himself possessed of prophetical powers, and it would seem that Erskine was credited with a similar faculty. According to a tradition "handed down in that family as an undoubted truth," the Earl of Moray was staying at Dun House just before his untimely death. He and the superintendent were talking together at "a large window at the end of the old hall there, which looked out on a pleasant green," when Erskine "suddenly looked about him, and with the greatest sorrow, and tears in his eyes, after he had been silent for some [time], at length interrupted the Regent with these words: 'Ah! woes me, my Lord, for what I perceive is to befall you shortly, for in a fortnight's time you will be murdered.' "

The removal of Moray, who had been one of the mainstays of the Reformation movement,[97] produced great changes in Church and State. The

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[96] p. 26.

[97] The "Good Regent" of the Protestants was an illegitimate son of King James V, and had been, according to the custom of the times, made Prior of St. Andrews by his father at the mature age of five years.

Earl of Morton became the most influential man of King James's party, and in order to raise money to enable him to contend with the supporters of the imprisoned Queen Mary, he directed his attention anew to the Church's wealth. As the unreformed Bishops died off,[98] salaried successors might be appointed by the Crown on conditions very favourable to the Exchequer, but very unfavourable to the interests of the Kirk invisible. Thus the whole question of Church government in Scotland was raised, and Erskine took the lead in making a protest. His letter to the Regent Mar, of November 10, 1571,[99] was, as has been already pointed out,[100] not a condemnation of the office of a Bishop, but a defence of the Kirk against the thrusting in of officials without its authority. In a second letter[101] he thus complains: "I perceive the Kirk to be so far despised, that no wrong can be done to it. It may appear most justly to all men, that the destruction of the Kirk and ministry is sought; for benefices are given and Bishops are made at men's pleasure, *without consent of the Kirk.*"

It has been the fashion to represent Erskine in this connection as at first manfully contending for the Presbyterian system, and afterwards, owing to his good nature, weakly agreeing to ac-

[98] Archbishop Hamilton was hanged in 1571.

[99] Wodrow, p. 36. [100] page 145. [101] Wodrow, p. 43.

cept titular Bishops as part of the government of the Kirk, but the only foundation for this opinion seems to be a misreading of words that are quite plain, and a failure to understand a singularly strong and consistent character. Many besides Erskine must have agreed with the Regent's words, "The default of the whole stands in this, that the policy of the Kirk of Scotland is not perfect, or any solid conference among Godly men, that are well willed and of judgment, how the same may be helped." [102] Knox himself was no opponent of Bishops *per se*,[103] and his co-reformer, Spottiswoode, used often to say, in his old age, "the doctrine we profess is good, but the old policy was undoubtedly the better." [104] And surely it is at least credible that Douglas, when he became Archbishop of St. Andrews, and Row, when he defended the lawfulness of Diocesan Episcopacy in 1575, were otherwise than faithful to their deepest convictions.

The outcome of this struggle was the holding of the Convention of Leith in 1572, a meeting of superintendents, commissioners, and ministers, which was to have "the strength, force, and effect" of a General Assembly. As a result of their deliberations the episcopate was restored at least in name. The old titles and boundaries of the dio-

[102] p. 45.
[103] See Hume Brown, I, 92, 93, and II, 278.
[104] Arch. Spott. *Hist.*, II, 337.

ceses were to remain as before the Reformation. A chapter of learned men was to be attached to each Cathedral. The Bishops and Archbishops were to have no more authority than superintendents, and to be subject to the Assembly. Abbots, priors, and commendators were to be learned and suitable for their office, and to be tried and admitted by the Bishops. All deaneries, provostries of collegiate churches, prebends, and chaplaincies founded on temporal lands, were to be bestowed by their patrons on students. The following General Assembly, of which Erskine was Moderator, reluctantly accepted these findings "until further and more perfect order be obtained."

It may seem strange, to those who regard John Knox as the founder of Presbyterianism, that the aged reformer, now nearing his end, wrote a letter[105] to this Assembly in agreement with their findings. He urged "that all bishoprics vacant may be presented, and qualified persons nominated thereunto within one year of the vacancy thereof, according to the order taken in Leith by the commissioners of the nobility and of the Kirk in the month of January last." His acquiescence has been set down to a sordid desire to secure the Church's patrimony,[106] but surely Knox of all men would have been the last to surrender his principles for the sake of even the Church's gain.

[105] Richard Bannatyne's *Memorials*, p. 250.
[106] Cunningham's *History*, I, p. 345.

The ecclesiastical system thus set up was unsatisfactory from every point of view. The Bishops had no valid consecration, and very soon became held up to scorn for their subserviency to the Crown and their financial relations to their patrons. The term Tulchan[107] bishops, which was applied to them, indicated the simoniacal conditions upon which many of them held their sees. Thus within twenty years the quasi-episcopal system gave way before the vigorous assaults of Andrew Melville and his colleagues, and in 1592 Presbyterianism was for the first time established in Scotland, itself to give place eighteen years later to a true episcopacy.

These further changes, however, Erskine did not live to see. For seventeen years he worked along with the titular Bishops as a superintendent of the Kirk, although he had offered to resign office in favour of the Bishop of Dunkeld and the Archbishop of St. Andrews. In 1575 he was instituted[108] by Winram, superintendent of Fife, to the parish of Dun, an indication that his labours as superintendent were not now so heavy as they used to be. The trend of Erskine's sympathies in the struggle between the Pres-

[107] A tulchan was a dummy calf stuffed with straw, placed before a cow to make her give milk.

[108] Hist. M.S.S. Report, V, 634. James Erskine was parson of Dun in 1570, and Thomas Erskine in 1574. Both were probably sons of the Superintendent. Wodrow, p. 411.

byterian and, as one may call them, Episcopalian parties, is seen in a letter written to him by the Rev. Thomas Smeton "at the command of the brethren sent in commission," regarding the Assembly of 1580, at which Episcopacy was condemned, and Bishops deposed, at least on paper. He deplores "this horrible confusion, which is like to wreck the Kirk of God in this country," and while he regrets the absence of Erskine through weakness and disease of body, he requests him from time to time to "let them understand his godly counsel and judgment concerning the uphold of these ruinous walls of afflicted Jerusalem." [109]

Wodrow avers that he had a considerable share in framing the second Book of Discipline,[110] but Andrew Melville was the main author of this production. He seems to have been more active in 1585, at a time when the progress of Presbyterianism was for the time being stayed, and Episcopacy had the upper hand. In that year he shewed great zeal as a commissioner appointed for the purpose of getting ministers to subscribe the obligation imposed by Parliament in 1584, to obey the king, and "the ordinary bishop or commissioner" of the diocese.[111] In the same year he is described in a deed of presentation by the constable of Dundee, as "Bishop and superintendent." [112]

[109] *Ibid.*, p. 635, No. 9. [110] Wodrow, p. 63.
[111] Grub. *Eccl. Hist. of Scot.*, II, 328.
[112] Hist. M.S.S. Report, V, 635.

An interesting light is thrown upon the survival of Catholic customs in Scotland long after the Reformation by two licenses[113] of King James VI, dated 1580 and 1584, allowing Erskine to dispense with fasting. The second of these is thus worded: "We, understanding that our well-beloved clerk, John Erskine of Dun, is past the age of 76 years, and that he is sickly and subject to divers infirmities and diseases: therefore by the tenor hereof, with advice of the Lords of our secret council, gives and grants license to him to eat flesh so oft as he shall think expedient on the forbidden days of the week, to-wit, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, and in the time of Lent-roun, during all the days of his lifetime."

Another license of the same year[114] excusing Erskine of Dun and his people from attending "the raid appointed towards Stirling" shows that in theory at least he was liable, parson and superintendent as he was,to take up arms at his sovereign's behest. Four years earlier, in 1580, a commission was issued to him "or in case of his indisposition and inability to travel" to his son, Robert Erskine, younger, of Dun, to proceed with the aid of the

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[113] Hist. M.S.S. Report, V, p. 640, Nos. 68, 72. See *The Irvines of Drum*, by J. F. Leslie (Aberdeen, 1909), p. 80 for similar licenses to Alexander Irvine, dated 1622-6-7. For the legislative enactments see *Acts of Scot. Parl.* III, p. 40, 35 (1567), p. 353, 12 (1584), p. 453, 42 (1587).

[114] *Ibid.*, no. 70. [115] *Ibid.*, no. 11, p. 636.

lieges of Forfarshire against the house of Redcastle[116] with fire, sword, and all other kind of warlike engines and recover it for the king. Young Erskine seems to have brought this affair to a speedy and satisfactory conclusion.[117]

Erskine died in 1589[118] full of years and of honour. Like Knox, he left the scene of his labours a poor man, for the last letter of his which is preserved[119] is a pathetic petition to the king for the continuance of his pension "but for a year, hoping ere that time be passed, I shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption." His life had been a long and varied one, during which there were five Kings and seven regents of Scotland. And he had played a part in the thrilling events of his time which was both worthy and of the highest importance. James VI. had "as good opinion" of Erskine "as of any subject in Scotland,"[120] and he is the only prominent reformer of whom practically all historians[121] speak with admiration. His ecclesiastical opinions we have seen, and as to his powers as a preacher, Hume Brown speaks admirably in connection with three

[116] The ruins of this building are prominent to the railway traveller passing Lunan Bay in Forfarshire, 4½ miles from Montrose.

[117] *Ibid.*, no. 69, p. 640. [118] *Ibid.*, p. 633.

[119] *Ibid.*, p. 636. There were four Lairds living on the estate at the same time, and five wives or widows of Lairds. p. 633.

[120] *Ibid.*, p. 636, no. 13. [121] Calderwood is an exception.

of his discourses which have come down to us. "Compared with other contemporary productions of the same kind they are remarkable for their clearness and simplicity of style and the directness with which they go to the mark the preacher set before him. But more notable than even these qualities is the mild piety they breathe, and their comparative freedom from the rancorous spirit of the time." [123]

Archbishop Spottiswoode's appreciation of the Reformer is also worth recording. "In the end of the year[123] died John Erskine of Dun, superintendent of Angus and Mearns, a man famous for the services performed to his prince and country, and worthy to be remembered for his travails in the Church, which out of zeal to the truth he undertook, preaching and advancing it by all means. . . . A baron, he was of good rank, wise, learned, liberal, of singular courage, who for divers resemblances may well be said to have been another Ambrose. He died the twelfth of March, in the eighty-second year of his age, leaving behind him a numerous posterity, and of himself and his virtues a memory that shall never be forgotten." [124]

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[123] II, 301.

[123] 1591, but like other writers Spottiswoode confused the Superintendent with his grandson of the same name.

[124] *History*, II, 412.

V—THE COVENANTING PERIOD

Robert Leighton

Bishop of Dunblane and Archbishop of Glasgow

(Born 1611—Died 1684)

The original reformation settlement in Scotland was, as we have seen, a much milder and more indefinite arrangement in some important respects than is generally imagined. Especially was this true in the matter of Church Government. Hampered as they were by their theory of an invisible Kirk, and divided as they were in opinion,[1] the reformers seem to have been driven by stress of circumstances upon the shoals of an unstable compromise. The strange and hybrid hierarchy which resulted, of Superintendents, Reformed Bishops, and Commissioners appointed for limited periods, has been a subject of much discussion be-

[1] Archbishop Spottiswoode, whose father was a superintendent and one of the compilers of the first Book of Discipline says that "divers" of those entrusted with this task wished to retain the ancient polity, cleansed from its corruptions, but Knox, "who then carried the chiefest sway" studied to conform to the Genevan model. *History*, Vol I, lxii.

ROBERT LEIGHTON, D.D.,
Archbishop of Glasgow 1654

tween Episcopalian and Presbyterian writers, each claiming the system as their own. Lacking, however, as it does the distinctive element both of Episcopacy and of Presbyterian parity, while possessing features that belong to both, it is most wisely placed in a category by itself. A study of all the facts of the case suggests that while the first generation of reformers was largely indifferent to the "divine rights" of either Episcopacy or Presbyterianism,[1] different individuals interpreted the situation each according to his own light.

The outcome of this state of things was what may be described as a see-saw between Episcopacy and Presbyterianism for more than a century. During this period the Kirk oscillated between the two rival systems according to the political forces which happened to be in the ascendant. Under both dispensations tyranny and compulsion were freely employed, for religious toleration was a plant of slow growth in Scotland. And on the whole the country acquiesced in the successive changes, with grumblings and protests of varying bitterness, and rebellious outbreaks on the part of the irreconcilables. It was not until after 1689 that this balance of power was shattered, and the permanent predominance of Presbyterianism secured, by the adhesion of the main body of the Episcopalians to Jacobite principles, a proceeding

[1] The supreme power of the General Assembly was the matter for which they really cared.

which, however laudable on the score of loyalty, involved them, and the cause of Scottish Episcopacy, in the ruin of the ill-fated Stuart dynasty.

The great strength of Presbyterianism was its witness for the spiritual independence of the Kirk, just as the great weakness of the Episcopal system was the subservience of its Bishops to the crown. In this lies the true inwardness of the long and bitter religious struggles of Scotland. Had the Stuart kings respected the feelings of their subjects in religious matters, and refrained from the policy of appointing as Bishops only men who were likely to do as they were told, the history both of the Kirk and the country might have been very different. Rightly or wrongly, however, they regarded Presbyterianism as a force inimical to political sovereignty, and studied to make Episcopacy a prop to the throne. At the Hampton Court conference of 1604 James VI. expressed this opinion with much vigour. With respect to the demand of the Puritans for periodical meetings, "his majesty was somewhat stirred, and thinking that they aimed at a Scottish Presbytery, 'which,' saith he, 'as well agreeth with monarchy as God and the Devil: then Jack and Tom, Will and Dick shall meet and at their pleasure censure both me and my council. I remember how they used the poor lady my mother, and me in my minority.' Then turning to the Bishops, and touching his hat, he added: 'My Lords, I may thank you that these

puritans plead for my supremacy, for once you are out and they in place, I know what would become of my supremacy: for no Bishop, no king.'"

During the period between 1560 and 1689 there were no fewer than six changes of Church government in Scotland. The superintendent system was merged in 1572 into the titular Episcopate, which lasted for twenty years. Then came the first establishment of Presbyterianism which after a troubled dominance of eighteen years gave place to the first valid Episcopate of 1610. The uprising which brought about the downfall of Charles I. brought in Presbyterianism for the second time in 1638, but under Cromwell the prerogatives of the Kirk were greatly curtailed, especially after 1653 when the General Assembly was disbanded by Colonel Cotterel at the head of a military force. The restoration of Charles II. was followed by the establishment of the second Episcopacy of 1661, the brightest ornament of which was the prelate whose character and career will form the subject of this chapter.

Amidst the goodly company of holy men whose lives have adorned Scottish Christianity Robert Leighton stands as one of the brightest and the best. Divines of different creeds have united in paying tribute to his excellence. In his writings men of diverse characters have found a peculiar inspiration. His pure and lofty piety, and his complete unworldliness have deeply impressed

successive generations. His broad-minded moderation and his devoted labours in the cause of religious concord and charity have impelled both Presbyterians and Episcopalians to claim him as their own. A mystic by temperament, it was his lot to live in the thick of the worst troubles of Scottish ecclesiastical history, and that not as a recluse, but as an active participator in the events of his time. "Leighton," wrote his friend, Dr. Fall, "was the delight and wonder of all that knew him."[3] "I bless the hour," said Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "that introduced me to the knowledge of the evangelical, apostolical Archbishop Leighton."[4] To Lord Morley "Leighton was one of the few wholly attractive characters of those bitter flavoured times,"[5] and the late Cardinal Manning is credited with this striking testimony: "One of the most remarkable discoveries of modern science is the fact that hurricanes revolve around a centre of perfect calm. Outside the charmed circle the tempest may rage furiously—within it, all is peace. A similar phenomenon can be found in the moral and spiritual world. In seasons of civil war or theological strife, when 'envy, hatred, and all uncharitableness' abound, we may find some tranquil spirits who, undisturbed by the tumult around, seem perpetually to hear their master

[3] Prefatory Epistle to his *Works*.
[4] *Notes on English Divines*, Vol. II, p. 120.
[5] *Oliver Cromwell*, p. 95.

whispering to them words of peace. Such a man was Robert Leighton."[6]

When Leighton was born in 1611 Episcopacy had just been restored to Scotland by the consecration of three titular Bishops, Spottiswoode, Lamb, and Hamilton, at the hands of the Bishops of London, Ely, Rochester, and Worcester. Nothing, however, was more unlikely than that this infant would in his turn be consecrated under similar conditions sixty years later, for his father, Alexander Leighton, was a Presbyterian of the narrowest and bitterest type, and a foe to the whole race of Bishops. When the time came to send Robert to the University of Edinburgh, his father entreated the gentleman to whose care the lad was entrusted, Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees, "to train him up in the true Presbyterian form, and Robert was strictly enjoined with his father's blessing to be steady in that way."[7]

Alexander Leighton belonged to an old family which had possessed for centuries the estate of Usan, near Montrose. Among his ancestors is said to have been Henry de Lichtoun, Bishop successively of Moray and of Aberdeen in the early half of the fifteenth century. It is not certain whether his home was in Scotland or in England at the time

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[6] Butler's *Life and Letters of Robert Leighton*, p. 538. See the whole of Chapter XV, "Tributes to Leighton's Spiritual Genius."

[7] Dr. Sprott, in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XXXIII, p. 4.

of Robert's birth, but he was in London before 1617, at which date he went to Leyden to study medicine. After his return to England he seems to have been more prominent as a disseminator of Puritan principles than as a medical practitioner, and the publication of his violent book, *An Appeal to Parliament, or Zion's plea Against prelacy,* brought him into conflict with the authorities. In 1630 he was brought before the Star Chamber, and condemned to a cruel punishment. After being pilloried and whipped at Westminster, one of his ears was cut off and his nose slit, and he was branded in the face with S. S. for a sower of sedition. Besides these inhumane sufferings he had to endure an imprisonment of ten years, and a fine of £10,000 was imposed upon him. In 1640 the Long Parliament cancelled the fine, and voted £6,000 to him in compensation for his sufferings and losses.

From all this it will be apparent that young Leighton had no liking for Episcopacy as established in Scotland, during his career as a student of Edinburgh University between the years 1627 and 1630. Bred up, as his friend and admirer Gilbert Burnet says,[1] with the greatest aversion imaginable to the whole frame of the church of England, the dangers to which his father was exposed were a cause of keen anxiety to him. "God

[1] *History of my own time,* I, 240. (Osmund Airy's edition.)

frustrate the purpose of wicked men," he wrote to his stepmother in 1629, with reference to his father's action in sending copies of *Zion's plea Against prelacy* to Edinburgh. The books "are like to bring those that medled with them in some danger, but I hope God shall appease the matter and limite the power of wicked men, who, if they could do according to their desire against God's children, would make havoc of them in a sudden." [9] His animosity against Laud was only natural, and must have been increased tenfold when he learned of the punishment which was meted out to his father.

The few letters of Leighton's student days that have come down to us reveal a strong spirit of personal piety. "Exhort my brother," he writes in that which has just been quoted, "walke with God, and pray for me that the same thing may be my case," and similar expressions occur in the others.[10] Burnet, who was a much younger man than his hero, writes of this period in the light of later developments of Leighton's character, but his account is well worth recording.[11] After telling how his father, "a man of violent and ungoverned heat," sent Robert to be bred in Scotland, he goes on to say that he "was accounted a saint from his youth up. He had great quickness of parts, a lively apprehension, with a charming vivacity of thought

[9] *Notes and Queries:* 3rd series, Vol. I, p. 107.
[10] Butler, pp. 55, 60, 61.
[11] *History of my own time*, I, 239.

and expression. He had the greatest command of the purest Latin that ever I knew in any man. He was a master both in Greek and Hebrew, and in the whole compass of learning, chiefly in the study of the Scriptures. But that which excelled all the rest, he came to be possessed of the highest and noblest sense of divine things that I ever saw in any man. He had no regard to his person, unless it was to mortify it by a constant low diet, that was like a perpetual fast. He had a contempt both of wealth and reputation. He seemed to have the lowest thoughts of himself possible, and to desire that all other persons should think as meanly of him as he himself did. He bore all sort of ill usage, and reproach like a man that took pleasure in it."

The piece of fine portraiture which follows refers still more clearly to Leighton's character in later life, but it will be convenient to set it down here.[12] "He had so subdued the natural heat of his temper, that in a great variety of accidents, and in a course of twenty-two years' intimate conversation with him, I never observed the least sign of passion, but upon one single occasion. He brought himself into so composed a gravity that I never saw him laugh, and but seldom smile. And he kept himself in such a constant recollection, that I do not remember that ever I

[12] I, 240.

heard him say one idle word. There was a visible tendency in all he said to raise his own mind, and those he conversed with, to serious reflections. He seemed to be in perpetual meditation. And, though the whole course of his life was strict and ascetical, yet he had nothing of the sourness of temper that generally possesses men of that sort. He was the freest of superstition, of censuring others, or of imposing his own methods on them, possible; so that he did not so much as recommend them to others. He said there was a diversity of tempers, and every man was to watch over his own, and to turn it in the best manner that he could. When he spoke of divine matters, which he did almost perpetually, it was in such an elevating manner, that I have often reflected on these words, and felt somewhat like them within myself while I was with him, *Did not our hearts burn within us while he talked with us by the way?* His thoughts were lively, oft out of the way and surprising, yet just and genuine. And he had laid together in his memory the greatest treasure of the best and wisest of all the ancient sayings of the heathens as well as Christians, that I have ever known any man master of, and he used them in the aptest manner possible."

One amusing incident in Leighton's student days shows how even in such a nature as his was, the natural man is apt to crop up unexpectedly. In the course of a difference of opinion which arose

during his first session, between the undergraduates and one of the university authorities, he wrote a clever epigram on the red nose of the Provost of Edinburgh, which resulted in his temporary expulsion from the university. The chief magistrate, Aikenhead by name, being by virtue of his office "Rector or Chancellor of the university," [13] had interfered with the liberties of the students in such a way as to excite their indignation, with the above mentioned direful result. Leighton tells the story in a letter to his father.[14] "There was a fight between our Classe and the Semies, which made the Provost to restraine us from the play a good while; the boyes upon that made some verses, one or two in every classe, mocking the Provost's red nose. I, sitting beside my Lord Borundell and the Earl of Ha (dington's) son, speaking about these verses which the boyes had made, spoke a thing in prose concerning his nose . . . and presently, upon their request, turned it into a verse thus:

"That which his name importes is falsely said.
That of the oaken wood his head is made,
For why, if it had bein composed so,
His flaming nose had fir'd it long ago." [15]

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[13] *Coltness Collections*, p. 21.

[14] May 20, 1629. Addressed to Mr. Alexander Leighton, Dr. of Physike, at his house on the top of Pudle Hill, near Blackfriars gate, over against the King's wardrobe.

[15] Butler, p. 55.

This was followed by an apology whose delicious impudence must have inflamed the magisterial wrath still more. Beginning in a spirit of mock humility he urges his Lordship to remember his own greatness and

> "despise
> Your scorners. For why? Eagles catch no fyes.
> Fooles attribute to you a fyrie nose,
> But fyre consumeth paper, I suppose;
> Therefore your Lordship would seem voyd of fyre,
> If that a paper doe dispell your eyre;
> And if that this remeid doe stand in steide,
> Then shall the laurell crown your Aiken heid;
> Now, since it's thus, your Lordship if it please,
> Accept ane triple cure for ane disease." [16]

Doubtless, as Leighton writes to his father, the teaching staff and the Principal of the University were by no means scandalised at his clever ebullition of boyish fun, but discipline had to be maintained, and the offender was "solemnly extruded." The period of his expulsion, however, was not of long duration. Sir James Stewart, his guardian, had been absent from Edinburgh while these events were happening, but on his return he interceded for the culprit, and Leighton was "reponed."

It has been claimed[17] that Leighton's wit was occasionally directed, not only at the unfortunate Provost's nose, but also against the Scottish Bish-

[16] Printed in Laing's *Fugitive Scottish Poetry of the Seventeenth Century*, 2nd series.

[17] Butler, p. 57.

ops, in some of the satirical effusions of the time which have been preserved.[18] While there is no reason to question either the youth's ability, or his possession of the requisite sentiments, the evidence for this supposition is of the flimsiest description, and it seems unlikely that he would have forgotten so easily the lesson which his escapade had taught him. The clumsy ill-nature, too, which pervades many of these verses, seems far removed from the delicate fun which prompted the academic satire.

One thing, however, is clear. Leighton's keen sense of humour, however chastened and kept in check, remained in later life. His piety was not of that depressing order which quenches all delight in an innocent joke. If Burnet "never saw him laugh, and but seldom smile," there must have been others who were more fortunate. When he was Presbyterian minister at Newbattle, it is said that his brethren in the Synod reprimanded him for not "preaching up the times," according to the prevailing custom. Leighton, who cordially disliked the political harangues which had so largely displaced the preaching of the Gospel in the Kirk, replied, "Then if all of you preach up the times, you may surely allow one poor brother to preach up Christ and Eternity."[19] On another occasion, being asked what he thought was the

[18] Laing's *Fugitive Scottish Poetry*, 2nd series, Preface, p. vi.

[19] Butler, p. 147.

mark of the beast, he answered, "If I might fancy what it were, it would be something with a pair of horns that pusheth his neighbour, and hath been so much seen and practised in Church and State." [20] Of a work entitled "Naked truth whipt and stript," he remarked, "It might have been better to clothe it," and it is said that "his frequent prayer was, 'Deliver me, O Lord, from the errors of wise men: yea and of good men.' "[21]

Of the following story one may at least hope that it is true. When he was Bishop of Dunblane, a young woman, the widow of a minister in the diocese, to whom he had been exceedingly kind, took it into her head that the Bishop was deeply in love with her. Finding he was long of breaking his mind, she went to him in the *Haining,* a lonely walk by the water-side, where he used to meditate. Upon his asking her commands, "Oh, my Lord," said she, "I had a revelation last night." "Indeed!" answered he: "I hardly imagined you would ever have been so highly honoured: What is it?" "That your lordship and I were to be married together." "Have a little patience," replied the Bishop, much abashed, "till I have a revelation too." [22] Wodrow relates an incident the accuracy of which is perhaps not beyond suspicion, but it may be set down here as a final illustration of

[20] p. 518. [21] p. 520.

[22] Related by Ramsay Ochtereyre. See ***Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century,*** **II, 90.**

Leighton's sense of pure fun. "Sir James Stewart, Provost of Edinburgh told Mr. Muire that being very bigg with Bishop Leighton, he said 'Sir, I hear that your grandfather was a Papist, your father a Presbyterian and suffered much for it in England, and you a Bishop! What a mixture is this.' (Says Leighton) 'It is true, sir, and my grandfather was the honestest man of the three."[23]

Leighton took his degree at Edinburgh on July 23, 1631,[24] and for his movements during the next ten years our information is of the scantiest. Burnet says: "From Scotland his father sent him to travel. He spent some years in France, and spoke that language like one born there."[25] Wodrow also mentions that he had "relations at Douay, in Popish orders,"[26] with whom it is possible that he may have lived. On this slender foundation a recent biographer[27] has managed to compile a chapter of over forty pages dealing with Leighton's residence abroad, but the reasonable inferences from these two statements may be put into shorter compass. It is likely that his imprisoned father would have wished him to study at some seat of Protestant learning; it is pretty certain that he was greatly interested in and im-

[23] *Analecta*, Vol. I, p. 26.
[24] Butler, p. 62. 1661 is an evident misprint.
[25] I, 240. [26] *Analecta*, III, 452.
[27] Butler, *Life and Letters of Robert Leighton*. 1903.

pressed by the Jansenist movement[28] in the Roman Church, then at its height; and it is clear that his life in a Roman Catholic country, especially if spent with relations "in Popish orders," must have greatly widened his mental outlook and tended to soften his religious prejudices. It may well be that it was during these years that he learnt to love Thomas à Kempis, whose *Imitation* he regarded "as one of the best books that ever was writ, next to the inspired writers." [29] In after years, when he was Principal of Edinburgh University, he felt the attraction of the Jansenist movement, and spent some of his vacations studying it on the spot. "Sometimes," says Burnet, "he went over to Flanders, to see what he could find in the several orders of the church of Rome. There he found some of Jansenius's followers, who seemed to be men of extraordinary tempers, and who studied to bring things, if possible, to the purity and simplicity of the primitive ages; on which all his thoughts were much set. He thought controversies had been too much insisted on, and had been carried too far." [30]

We may, in the absence of contrary evidence, assume that Leighton was abroad during the troubled times that heralded the overthrow of Scottish Episcopacy in 1638. This consumma-

[28] Ypres, the see city of Bishop Jansen in 1636-8, was not far from Douai.

[29] Wodrow, *Analecta*, III, 452. [30] *History*, I, 244.

tion was brought about largely through the misguided policy of the Stuart kings, James I. and his unfortunate son Charles I. Had they not so persistently and in such an autocratic manner interfered with the religious affairs of Scotland, we may well believe that those who were opposed to prelacy might have come to see the good side of Episcopal government. For it was, says the Presbyterian Professor, James Cooper,[21] "a system which combined on the Ignatian model, presbyterial franchises and synodical rights with Episcopal oversight—the system under which alone, it has been said, presbyteries performed their executive duties—the system which really gave us our parish schools—the system which certainly produced the brightest galaxy of theologians that ever adorned our northern sky." To which it may be added that it was the system under which the financial position of established ministers since that time was greatly improved. Both kings did much in this respect. James laboured to increase the ministers' stipends, and purchased back, out of his own pocket, parts of the alienated church lands for the support of the Bishops, while it was Charles who secured for the ministers the teinds or tithes which the present establishment still enjoys. And it was the latter monarch's quixotic Revocation Act of 1625, by which he attempted to

[21] *Introduction to the Scottish Liturgy of* 1637, p. xi.

make the nobles restore the lands that had been acquired from the Church, which made that order ready once more to take the lead in a struggle which ended in political and religious revolution.

But it is impossible to find excuse for the blind arrogance of both rulers. James flouted the independence of his subjects, bullied his Bishops, and suppressed by force those who would not bend to his will. The Five Articles of Perth,[32] reasonable as they were in themselves, were passed in 1618 by methods which will not bear inspection. It was left however to Charles to drive the country into exasperation by his arbitrary methods. His visit to Scotland in 1633 involved him in great unpopularity, and his elevation of Archbishop Spottiswoode two years later to the Chancellorship of Scotland was received with great disfavour. Then came a series of arbitrary acts which brought matters to a crisis. In 1636 a book of Canons and an ordinal were imposed upon the Kirk by royal authority, without any consultation with the General Assembly, and in the next year the Scottish Prayer Book followed. Riots[33] took place in many

[32] They prescribed (1) Kneeling at reception of Holy Communion; (2) Private Communion to the Sick; (3) Private baptism in cases of necessity; (4) Observance of the holy days commemorating Our Lord's Birth, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension, and the Advent of the Holy Ghost, (5) Confirmation of children.

[33] These seem to have been organized affairs. The spontaneous outbreak of Jenny Geddes is not historical.

churches when it was used, and the country was soon in open revolt.

The Prayer Book it is true was not Laud's, in spite of the title which has clung to it,[34] nor was it "popish," as the enemies of Episcopacy so diligently represented. Still less was it an attempt to introduce a liturgical form of worship as something new, for since the reformation Scotland had not been without a Prayer Book.[35] Its real offence was the method of its publication by royal authority at the market crosses of Scotland, instead of by the authorised courts of the Church. Yet it was the spark that fired the train. Popery, it was wildly declared, was at the doors. The nobles, to whom the Revocation Act was a more real bogey than the Prayer Book, organised and fomented the forces of rebellion. Four strong committees of nobles, gentry, ministers, and burgesses, called The Tables, were formed to consolidate the popular outbreak. In 1638 the national covenant was drawn up and signed at the Greyfriars'

[34] "Laud's Liturgy" was compiled by two Scottish Bishops, Maxwell of Ross and Wedderburn of Dunblane. Laud certainly made preliminary suggestions, and revised the work when finished, but both he and Charles would have preferred the adoption of the English Book of Common Prayer.

[35] The English Prayer Book of 1552 was used by the reformers, until Knox's Book of Common Order displaced it. The Assemblies of 1601 and 1616 had tried to revise Knox's book, and in 1634 another Scottish liturgy had been drafted, but suppressed.

Church of Edinburgh and throughout the country, and the same year a packed General Assembly[36] condemned and deposed the Bishops, and repudiated Episcopacy and all that had come in its train.

That Leighton heartily sympathised with these changes he soon shewed in the clearest possible way, by becoming a minister under the new *regime*. He was ordained as minister of Newbattle by the Presbytery of Dalkeith, on December 16th, 1641. Newbattle is an ancient parish in the vicinity of Edinburgh, where in bygone days a Cistercian abbey flourished. In Leighton's time the congregation numbered about 900 communicants,[37] and he found his charge a heavy one. The church in which he ministered no longer exists, but the old oak pulpit in which he preached is preserved in the present building, and although the "town" of Newbattle itself has now dwindled into a mere hamlet, "the old path, the old bridge, the old mill, and the old manse . . . remain very much as they were in Leighton's time." [38]

In some of the new minister's sermons, preached shortly after his entry into the parish, there are phrases which shew his enthusiasm for the new order of things. "The pure light of the Church is now revived," he says,[39] "and the glory

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[36] Episcopacy was introduced by a similar Assembly in 1610.

[37] Butler, p. 231. [38] p. 143.

[39] *Leighton's Works*, West's Edition, II, 26.

of the Lord is risen upon you." He points out how "the Lord brings notable judgments upon the proud workers of iniquity, and at the same time confers special mercies on His own people,"[40] and reminds his hearers that "when His appointed time comes, to make a day of deliverance dawn upon His Church, after their long night either of affliction or of defection, or both; they who contrive against that day-spring are as vain as if they should sit down to plot how to hinder the sun from rising in the morning."[41] Yet Leighton was not an adept at "preaching up the times." His references to current affairs are few, and couched in the mildest terms. He speaks strongly now and then, indeed, against the errors of Rome, but his main concern is with the spiritual needs of his hearers. "Were there more repentance and *personal* reformation amongst us," he declares, "we might take it as a hopeful forerunner of that public reformation which so many seem now to desire."[42] He is more concerned with the sins than with the political opinions of the covenanters. "What vile uncleanness and wantonness, what shameful drunkenness and excess prevail! And some are so far from mourning for others' guiltiness of this sin, that they glory in making others guilty of it, and count it a pastime to make others drunk."[43] The "histrionic weeping" of his hear-

[40] p. 2. [41] p. 4. [42] p. 6. [43] p. 83.

ers in Church seems to have grated upon his nerves, for he contrasts it with that godly sorrow which is "always serious and sincere."

It soon became apparent that, in rejecting Episcopacy, Scotland had only exchanged one tyranny for another, and that, in Milton's phrase, *new presbyter was but old priest writ large.* For thirteen years the Presbyterian leaders busied themselves in grinding the country into compliance with their principles. The Marquis of Montrose was sent with an army to subdue uncovenanted Aberdeen, whose famous "doctors" held out against the new system. Ministers opposed to the covenant were deprived, private conventicles, it is interesting to remember, were forbidden, and all the people were compelled to sign the covenant, or to suffer pains and penalties. Those who were suspected of Royalist leanings were treated with special harshness, as "malignants." But the height of intolerance was reached in 1643, when the Solemn League and Covenant was framed with an aim far more ambitious than the mere defense of Protestant liberties in Scotland, which had been the theme of the National Covenant of 1638. It was now intended to bring England and Ireland into line with Scotland, by the extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, Superstition, Heresy, Schism, and Profaneness, and the establishment of Presbyterianism in their stead. While this fond dream was never realised, it reveals an arrogance, and a disregard of

other men's consciences, which equals those of the unwisest of the Stuarts. Its political results were great and far-reaching at the time, but its permanent effects upon the religious life of Scotland were far different from what was desired. It alienated the minds of moderate men from Presbyterianism, and introduced into it the Puritanic leaven from England and that Sabbatarianism which has come to be regarded as an indigenous feature of Scotland. It also brought about the substitution of the Westminster Confession of Faith, the Westminster Directory of Public worship, and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms,[44] for the older formularies of the Scottish Kirk.

To one of Leighton's tolerant and peace-loving disposition the ecclesiastical atmosphere of these times must have been increasingly trying. Yet he remained, formally at least, loyal to the Presbyterian system until the end of his ministry at Newbattle. He attended the Presbytery meetings with conscientious regularity, and took his share in its work.[45] "He preached often before the Presbytery of Dalkeith, occasionally before the Synod of Lothian and the Scottish Parliament." He was a member of the Commission of Assembly in 1642 which nominated the Commissioners for the Westminster Assembly.[46] However he may have

[44] All drawn up at the Westminster Assembly of 1643-1648.

[45] Butler, p. 179. [46] p. 181.

disliked the Solemn League and Covenant, he signed it in 1643,[47] administered it as late as 1650. His father was staying with him that year at Newbattle,[48] and it may be that his influence steadied the wavering allegiance of his son. Burnet's account of the matter is, therefore, inaccurate in some details, but it probably indicates the truth in general. "He soon came to see into the follies of the Presbyterians, and to hate their covenant, particularly the imposing it, and their fury against all who differed from them. He found they were not capable of large thoughts; theirs were narrow, as their tempers were sour. So he grew weary of mixing with them: he scarce ever went to their meetings, minding only the care of his own parish at Newbattle near Edinburgh. Yet all the opposition he made to them was that he preached up a more universal charity, and a silenter but sublimer way of devotion, and a more exact rule of life than seemed to them consistent with human nature: but his own practice did even outshine his doctrine."[49]

It was the "engagement" made in 1647 between Charles I. and the Scottish Commissioners which brought out, in a mild way, Leighton's want of sympathy with the extreme Presbyterians. The king, now at Carisbrooke Castle, had promised to confirm the Solemn League and Covenant, and to establish Presbyterian government in England for

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[47] p. 183. [48] p, 195, n. 1. [49] *History*, I, p. 241.

three years, on condition that the Scots should send an army into England to his support. Thereupon the Kirk became divided into two parties, the engagers and the remonstrants, according as they approved of or condemned this compact. In 1648 a declaration against the engagement was ordered by the Presbytery to be read in every Church within its borders, but Leighton caused his precentor to perform this duty at Newbattle, because, it was said, of "the lownesse of his owne voice which could not be heard throw the whole Kirk."[50] For this offence, and for absence without leave in England, he was "gravlie admonished by the Presbytery." Burnet's version of the affair is as follows: "In the year 1648 he declared himself for the engagement for the king. But the earl of Lothian, who lived in his parish, had so high an esteem for him that he persuaded the violent men not to meddle with him." [51] He goes on to say that when some of his parishioners who had been in the expedition following upon the engagement, which ended in the defeat of Preston, were ordered to profess their repentance in public, he urged them to repent of the injustice and violence, the drunkenness and other immoralities of which he believed they had been guilty, without entering into the pros and cons of the engagement at all.[52] Two months later he was again admonished by his Presbytery,

[50] Butler, p. 228 and 229 [51] Burnet, I, 242. [52] I, p. 242.

this time for declining to act as a commissioner to the General Assembly,[53] and in both cases he promised "by the grace of God to amend."

The death of Charles I. in 1649 was followed by the accession of his son to the throne of Scotland the following year. The feud between Engagers and Protesters was now merged into a new struggle between the Resolutioners, who approved of the resolutions of Parliament and Kirk against the Act of Classes, whereby in 1649 "malignants" had been debarred from any position of trust or office, and the Remonstrants who raised their voices against this defection to ways of toleration. The Resolutioners were the body who inherited the moderate traditions of the Reformation, and who made the re-introduction of Episcopacy possible in 1660. As that time drew near, James Sharp appeared as one of the most able men of this party of moderation, and although Leighton was no partisan, he must now be classed amongst them too.

As late as 1651, however, Leighton was chosen unanimously by the Synod of Lothian to proceed to London to negotiate for the "freedom and enlargement" of their brethren who had been carried to England as Cromwell's prisoners.[54] This mark of confidence was doubtless partly due to the fact that Leighton had been in years past a frequent visitor to England.[55] On his return towards the end of

[53] Butler, p. 231. [54] Butler, p. 236. [55] p. 232.

1652 he had definitely decided to resign his parish, apparently with the intention of retiring to England.[56] In December he twice demitted his charge, but the Presbytery refused to accept the resignation. The following year, however, a third application was more successful. Intimation was made that he had received a call to become Principal of Edinburgh University, and although he had not yet decided to accept the post, he was loosed from his ministry, because of his insufficient strength for so large a congregation, and especially because of his weak voice which could not reach half of them when convened.[57]

The records of his kirk session and of the presbytery shew that Leighton was exceedingly strict in matters of morality,[58] if not in the strait tenets of Presbyterianism. Once he appears in the curious case of a man who had condemned "set prayers, and the use of the Lord's Prayer," but who now expressed his sorrow for that error.[59] Leighton and another minister were appointed to confer with the penitent, in accordance with his desire to be "cleared from Scripture" on the matter. And this was only thirteen years later than the glorious day of the mythical Jenny Geddes!

It was during the Newbattle ministry that the bulk of Leighton's sermons, and his famous com-

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[56] p. 219. Letter by the Earl of Lothian.
[57] pp. 239, 240. [58] pp. 225, 226, 243. [59] p. 234.

mentary on I. Peter were composed.[60] It is impossible here to exemplify the beauty of utterance and the exalted spiritual tone of these writings. Their appeal has gone home to men of all characters, circumstances, and opinions. Let the noble tribute of Professor Flint exemplify this fact. "As far as I can judge, a purer, humbler, holier spirit than that of Robert Leighton never tabernacled in Scottish clay. He was 'like a star which dwelt apart' while the storm raged below: or like a fair flower of Paradise dropped amidst the thorn and thistle on some bleak mountain-side. His character was of an almost ideal excellence, and so divinely beautiful, that men, while attracted by it, were also awed by it, as beyond what imitation could hope to reach in the earthly state of being. His works, owing to the marvellous fulness and perfection of the spiritual life which pervades them, are worth many times over all the writings of all his Scottish contemporaries. There is nothing nearly equal to them in our devotional literature from its rise until now."[61]

Burnet, who at a later date had many opportunities of hearing Leighton preach, thus describes his pulpit oratory: "His preaching had a sublimity both of thought and expression in it; and above all, the grace and gravity of his pronunciation was

[60] West, Vol. VII, of *Leighton's Works*, pp. 352-4.

[61] *St. Giles' Lectures*, 1st series, p. 204.

such that few heard him without a very sensible emotion. I am sure I never did.[82] It was so different from all others, and indeed from everything that one could hope to rise up to, that it gave a man an indignation at himself and all others. It was a very sensible humiliation to me, and for some time after I heard him, I could not bear the thought of my own performances, and was out of countenance when I was forced to think of preaching. His style was rather too fine; but there was a majesty and a beauty in it that left so deep an impression, that I cannot yet forget the sermons I heard him preach thirty years ago. And yet with all this he seemed to look upon himself as so ordinary a preacher, that while he had a cure he was ready to employ all others; and when he was a Bishop he chose to preach to small auditories, and would never give notice beforehand. He had indeed a very low voice, and so could not be heard by a great crowd." [83]

Leighton's appointment to the Principalship was made on 17th of January 1653 at a meeting of the Town Council and the ministers of Edinburgh. The latter did not vote at the election,

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[82] *Cf.*, the Earl of Lothian's "never did I gette soe much good by any that stoode in a pulpit." Butler, p. 220.

[83] *History*, I, 241. Leighton's contemporaries did not all approve of his "haranguing way of preaching without heads," which was a novelty in Scottish pulpits. Butler, p. 160, n. 2.

"because they were not clear in the manner of the call," although they were "well content with the man." [64] This circumstance points to some interference on the part of the English authorities, in favour of Leighton,[65] who must have been known to the Parliamentarians on his father's account if not on his own. The battle of Worcester in 1651 had left Scotland at Cromwell's mercy, and his policy of toleration for Independents, of political union between the two countries, and of improvement in the administration of justice, altered the whole situation both in Kirk and State.

Under these new conditions, and in a somewhat more congenial environment, Leighton's lot was a happier one than it had been at Newbattle. He had been prevailed on, says Burnet, to accept the Principalship "because in it he was wholly separated from all church matters. He continued ten years in that post, and was a great blessing in it: for he talked so to all the youth of any capacity or distinction that it had a great effect on many of them. He preached often to them, and if crowds broke in, which they were apt to do, he would have gone on in his sermon in Latin, with a purity and life that charmed all who understood it." [66] As Principal he did not teach theology proper, but a number of his lectures on the practi-

[64] Butler, p. 293-4.
[65] See on p. 247, n. 1.
[66] *History*, I, 242.

cal aspects of religion remain, which he is said to have delivered on Wednesdays, while he preached to the students on Sundays."[67] One of his hearers tells how amidst the religious disputes and factions which prevailed in the University, the Principal's voice was still raised on the side of peace. "The impressions I retained from Mr. Leighton his discourses desposed me to affect charity for all good men of any persuasion, and I preferred a quiet lyfe, wherein I might not be ingaged in factions of Church or State."[68]

In his farewell address to the students Leighton claims that the one aim of these lectures had been that "the form of sound words—that is of Christian doctrine—and consequently the fear and love of God might not only be impressed, but also graven upon your hearts in lasting and indelible characters, and that you might not only admit as a truth, but also hold in the highest regard this indisputable maxim 'That piety is the one and only real good among men.'" He goes on to say that he had endeavoured, with all the earnestness in his power, to recall them "from those unprofitable questions and disputes that, like thorns and briars, have overrun the whole of theology; and this at a time when most of our divines and professors, and those of no small reputation, engaging

[67] Butler, pp. 250-1. [68] Sibbald's *Autobiography*, p. 15.

furiously in such controversies, have split into parties, and unhappily divided the whole land."[69]

In his vacations he often paid visits to London, where he met the prominent men in Cromwell's court, and in the several parties then about the city of London. But "he never could see anything among them that pleased him: they were men of unquiet and meddling tempers: and their discourses and sermons were dry and unsavoury, full of airy cant, or of bombast swellings."[70] Sometimes too he paid one of those visits to the Jansenists in Flanders which have been already mentioned.[71]

Whether or not Leighton's remarkable treatise entitled *Counsels of Perfection, or rules and instructions for spiritual exercises* was composed during the Prinicipalship, it may here receive the inadequate notice which alone is possible. A work of mystical devotion which strikingly recalls the *Imitation,* and yet "appears to be as original as any work of the kind can well be,"[72] it stands almost alone as a product of our native theology. Its sum is according to its author—

"1. Remember always the Presence of God.
2. Rejoice always in the Will of God.
3. Direct all to the Glory of God,"[73]

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[69] *Works,* VI, 295. West's edition.
[70] Burnet, I, p. 244. [71] Above, page 177.
[72] *Works,* VI, p. 304. [73] p. 331.

and its aim to teach how man's soul may be "knit to God" in a union "more fast and joined nearer to Him than to thine own body."[74] "If thou aspire to attain the perfect knitting or union with God, know that it requireth a perfect exspoliation, and denudation, or bare nakedness, and utter forsaking of all sin, yea of all creatures, and of thyself particularly; even that thy mind and understanding, thy affections and desires, thy memory and fancy, be made bare of all things in the world, and all sensual pleasures in them, so as thou wouldst be content that the bread which thou eatest had no more savour than a stone, and yet, for his honour and glory who created bread, thou art pleased that it savoureth well; but yet, from the delectation thou findest in it turn thy heart to the praises and love of Him who made it."[75]

The Principal's care for the moral well-being of his students appears in a representation to the Town Council anent "some suspect houses keipit near the colledge," and his zeal for educational efficiency in a proposal to the same body that grammar schools should be erected in every presbytery, and a book of "Rudiments" in English and Latin be provided for use.[76] According to Wodrow he tried to persuade Dickson, the professor of theology, to teach, or at least recommend, his "dear

[74] p. 327. [75] p. 324. [76] Butler, p. 296.

à Kempis" [77] to the students; but his colleague refused on account of its Popish doctrines, and because "neither Christ's satisfaction, nor the doctrine of grace, but self and merite ran throu it." [78] Certainly Leighton himself took occasion to recommend it in his farewell address already alluded to.[79]

The death of Cromwell in 1658 was soon followed by the Restoration of Charles II. and the re-establishment of Episcopacy both in England and in Scotland. For Leighton this meant the end of his career as a Presbyterian and a Principal. He had gone south in consequence of bad health, and also to look after the interests of the University [80] amidst the changes which were impending. On August 20th, 1661, he wrote a letter which shows that he was seriously contemplating resignation of his office owing to his "crazy and unhealthful" state, and his expectation that he had not much longer to live. Any prospect or project of advancement for himself was far from his mind.[81] But his brother, Sir Elisha Leighton, who was now attached to the court of Charles, pressed his name upon the attention of Lord Aubigny, who in turn made the king aware of the Principal's rare piety

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[77] p. 262. [78] *Analecta*, III, 452. [79] *Works*, VI, 298.

[80] In 1657 he had been in London securing a grant for the University of £200 a year from Cromwell. Butler, p. 252.

[81] Letter to the Provost of Edinburgh. Butler, p. 291.

and "notions."[83] Charles accordingly nominated Leighton for one of the Scottish Bishoprics, hoping, according to Burnet's extreme view, that "such a monastic man, who had a great stretch of thought, and so many other eminent qualities, would be a mean, at least to prepare the nation for popery, if not directly to come over to them." [84]

Leighton was most unwilling to accept this promotion, for which he had, to quote his own words, "the greatest aversion that ever I had to anything in all my life." [85] But he had now for many years been a silent dissentient to the zeal of his co-religionists in Scotland,[86] and he had hopes of helping to bring about a happier state of things under the new system, by "reconciling the devout on different sides."[87] Most of all, he could urge no valid reason why he should not become a Bishop, and so was "forced to capitulate," stipulating only that he should receive "the indulgence of the lowest station, and they say the lightest burden of all the kind, whereas I was for some days threatened with

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[83] Sir Elisha Leighton was, according to Burnet, "a very immoral man, both lewd, false, and ambitious," as well as "a Papist of a form of his own." *History*, I, 242.

[84] I, 244.

[85] Letter to Rev. James Aird. Butler, p. 337-8.

[86] *Ibid.*, "They have misreckoned themselves in taking my silence and their zeals to have been consent and participation."

[87] p. 398.

one of the heaviest."[87] The unworldliness with which he thus sought Dunblane, the smallest and worst paid Scottish diocese, was prominent throughout his life. When swindled, in spite of a friend's warning, by an unscrupulous agent, of the property which his father left him in 1649, his mild comment was, "I confess it is the wiser way to trust nobody: but there is so much fool in my nature as carries me rather to the other extreme, to trust everybody. . . . That little which was in Mr. E.'s hands hath failed me: but I shall either have no need of it or be supplied some other way."[88] And, in Burnet's striking phrase, "his provision and his journey failed him at once," when he died in 1684. As a Bishop he had been content with "what his tenants were pleased to pay him,"[89] and after his retirement to England he lived upon such arrears as were paid to his agent, but the last payment that he could expect had been sent him about six weeks before his death.[90]

As Leighton and Sharp had received Presbyterian ordination, they were privately ordained to the diaconate and the priesthood.[91] This had not

[87] Letter to Earl of Lothian. Butler, p. 335.
His stipend was £43-19-1, while Sharp's was £1544-6-1, p. 355.

[88] p. 213.

[89] *Cf.*, Butler, 397. "If you make it appear . . . reasonable that you give nothing, nothing bee it."

[90] Burnet, I, 429.

[91] About Nov. 24, 1661. Butler, p. 306.

been done in 1610, and Sharp at first held out for that precedent. Leighton, who certainly cannot be claimed as an advanced Episcopalian, saw no difficulty in what he regarded as a mere matter of Church rule,[92] and we have his own testimony that when he and his brother Bishops returned to Scotland no attempt was made to force re-ordination on the Presbyterian ministers.[93] The two others, Fairfoul and Hamilton, had been ordained by Scottish Bishops, and all four were consecrated in Westminster Abbey on December 15, 1661, by the Bishops of London, Worcester, Carlisle and St. Asaph.[94] The Archbishop of Canterbury was apparently present as Commissioner, but did not take part in the laying on of hands, in order to preserve the independence of the Scottish Bishops.

Leighton was soon disappointed in his colleagues. He felt that the "feasting and jollity of that day" was hardly fitting for so solemn an occasion as "the new modelling of a church." And when he propounded to his brother Bishops his plans for union with the Presbyterians, for raising men "to a truer and higher sense of piety, and for the improvement of public worship with a view to a

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[92] Burnet, I, 248.

[93] Butler, p. 428. They re-ordained ministers who wished this to be done. Bishop Mitchell of Aberdeen alone insisted on re-ordination. Grub., III, 218.

[94] So in Butler, p. 333. Grub gives Llandaff instead of St. Asaph. III, 196.

liturgical use," he was amazed to find that he was speaking to deaf ears.[95] On the return to Scotland the four travelled in the same coach, but Leighton was "very weary" of his companions, and, as he thought, they of him. Finding on the way that "they intended to be received in Edinburgh with some pomp," he left them at Morpeth, and came on before them, hating as he did "all the appearances of vanity."[96]

The plan which the good Bishop had formed for the union of Presbyterianism and Episcopacy was founded upon the scheme which Archbishop Usher propounded in the days before the Solemn League and Covenant shattered for him all hope of such an amalgamation. Leighton's scheme for a modified Episcopacy, as he afterwards propounded it, was in outline as follows: The Kirk should be governed by the Bishops and Clergy in their ecclesiastical courts, and in matters both of jurisdiction and of ordination the Bishops should be guided by the majority of their Presbyters. Ministers who submitted to the Bishops should be required to do so only in the interests of peace, and without sacrificing principle. Provincial synods should be held every third year, or oftener at the

[95] Burnet, I, 249.

[96] "He would not have the title of lord given him by his friends, and was not easy when others forced it on him." *Ibid.*, p. 251.

king's summons, and in these synods the Bishops might be censured for offences proved against them. It was in the spirit of these proposals that Leighton performed his own duties as a Bishop, and well had it been for religion in Scotland if his example had been followed.

Leighton's name is still prominently associated with the peaceful and beautiful Cathedral town of Dunblane, and Dr. Walter Smith's fine poem has immortalised the "Bishop's Walk" where the good man was wont to take his exercise.[97] Yet in his quiet retreat he must have many a time found his prediction come true, that his office would be "a mortification, and that greater than a cell and haircloth."[98] His old associates declared that he was "Popish and Jesuistic,"[99] and perverted all his doings. His old guardian Sir James Stewart bestowed upon him a welcome which is sufficiently

[97] "A pleasant walk, when singing bird
Upon the bending twig is heard,
And rustling leaf that bids you hush!
And hear the slow still waters gush
Far down below unseen,
Beneath the branches green.

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How swell the Ochils green: and there
The Cromlex melts in distant air;
Benledi and Ben Lomond far
Front the rude crags of Uam-var:
And by the shady way
Still towers the minster gray."

[98] Butler, p. 338. [99] p. 360.

described in the words which Leighton is said to have used on his return, "I have dined at Goodtrees. I wish I had stayed at home and chawed gravell." [100] In contemporary satire he was described in terms that recall the famous Vicar of Bray.[101] And most of all he felt that the hopes with which he had entered upon the Episcopate were not likely to be realized. His struggling for peace and unity even semed in moments of despondency "like a fighting against God." [102]

Among the Resolutioners there was a strong feeling in favour of Episcopacy at the Restoration,[103] and nearly 600 ministers accepted the new order of things.[104] But the extremists refused to comply, and Charles's political ministers embarked upon that policy of severity which produced the later Covenanters. It is to be remembered that these men represented only the five western shires, comprising about a fifth of the population of the country, and that the liberty for which they contended was not merely ecclesiastical freedom for themselves, but also liberty to impose their

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[100] Butler, p. 361; n. 6.

[101] p. 340:

"Reporting thy compliancie
With each prevailing partie;
That whatsoever change fell out,
Thou wast to it most heartie."

[102] Burnet, I, 249. [103] I, 321. [104] p. 351.

principles upon the consciences of their fellow-countrymen.

A number of acts were passed by parliament which soon made the cleavage clear. In 1662 every man in public office or place of trust was called on to abjure the Covenant, and by the Patronage Act all ministers elected between 1649 and 1660 were directed to seek presentation from the lawful patrons, and collation from the Bishops. Eventually two or three hundred of the ministers gave up their benefices rather than comply. Then came in 1663 the measure which was nicknamed "the Bishops' drag-net," forbidding the covenanting ministers to exercise their ministry, and imposing fines on all who refused to attend the parish church. The Mile Act forbade the nonconforming ministers to live within twenty miles of their former parishes, within six miles of Edinburgh or any other cathedral city, or within three miles of a royal burgh. The High Court of Commission was revived for a brief period, to deal with ecclesiastical offences. From 1664 to 1666 the people in the west were oppressed with fines, and troops were quartered upon them. Insurrection followed, and at Rullion Green, on the 28th of November, 1666, General Dalziel routed the undisciplined Covenanters. Seventy persons were banished and more than thirty hanged, two of these having been tortured to extract a confession.

For this miserable tale no palliation can be

offered. It was a case of the most terrible mismanagement of a difficult situation, and the pity is that so few Bishops or others raised their voices in protest. It is true that the Covenanters only received in added measure what they had dealt out to others in their day of power, and that if the Episcopalians in 1638 had been as fanatical as their opponents were after 1662 there would have been "killing times" then too, in plenty. But after all has been said, one can only think of this aspect of the period with shame and sorrow.

Meanwhile Leighton pursued his own course in the diocese of Dunblane. "He went round it constantly every year, preaching and catechising from parish to parish. He continued in his private and ascetic course of life,[105] and gave all his income, beyond the small expense on his own person, to the poor. He studied to raise in his clergy a greater sense of spiritual matters, and of the care of souls, and was in all respects a burning and a shining light, highly esteemed by the greater part of his diocese: even the Presbyterians were much mollified, if not quite overcome, by his mild and heavenly course of life." [106] In his dealings with patrons, presbyteries, and synods he shewed the utmost conciliation, and refrained from acting

[105] "I believe for myself I shall live as monastically as ever I did" he wrote in 1661. Butler, p. 336.

[106] Burnet, I, 382.

upon his own sole authority as far as possible.[107] His addresses in synod were mainly directed to two points, the raising of the standard of morals and piety, and the improvement of Church worship. Year by year he urged the same counsels upon his clergy with remarkable persistence. His successor Bishop Ramsay, when he examined the synod register containing Leighton's addresses, declared that he looked on it "as beyond some volumes of the ancient concilles," and remarked upon the patience with which the same teaching was repeated, "precept upon precept, line upon line." [108]

Leighton's efforts in the direction of a better system of worship in Church were moderate enough. He desired that the Lord's Prayer should be restored to more frequent use,[109] together with the Doxology, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments; and that Holy Scripture should be more largely read. He urged his clergy to use longer texts and shorter sermons,[110] and to recall their people from their "irreverent deportment" in pub-

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[107] Butler wrongly minimises the part which Leighton took in the ordination of ministers, and he is of course quite mistaken in thinking that the joint imposition of hands by the presbytery was due to a special concession on Leighton's part. The record which he quotes on p. 581, runs thus: "The said reverend Bishop did thairafter by caling upon God most high and impositione of hands with the presbiterie ordean and admitt the said, etc," see pp. viii, 558, 572.

[108] Butler, 394. [109] p. 367, 370. [110] p. 376.

lic worship, "particularly from their most undecent sitting at prayer."[111] He got the synod to join with him in enacting that the Holy Communion should be celebrated in every congregation at least once every year,[112] and that the people should be catechised more frequently and more simply.[113] Bare and simple as Church worship in Leighton's diocese must have been, the standard was no higher elsewhere in Scotland. The Book of Common Prayer was not used in public, except by Gilbert Burnet at Salton, and at least for a short time, in the Chapel Royal at Holyrood, of which the Bishop of Dunblane was the Dean.[114] The forms in Knox's Liturgy were sometimes employed, and at the Cathedral of Aberdeen part of the Prayer Book was embodied in the form of morning and evening service. Confirmation seems to have been entirely neglected, and, speaking generally, there was no great distinction between the worship of the Established Church, and that of the non-conforming Presbyterians.[115]

In the wider field of the ecclesiastical politics of the nation Leighton strove to win respect for his ideals of moderation. He never indeed attended parliament except when matters concerning re-

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[111] p. 377. [112] p. 371. [113] p. 386.

[114] Leighton hoped when he became a Bishop, "that he might set up the common prayer in the King's chapel: for the rebuilding of which orders were given." Burnet, I, 245.

[115] Grub, III, 217-8.

ligion or the Church were being discussed,[116] nor did he approve of the new basis on which Episcopacy was now set, with the Bishops, at least theoretically, independent of the Church judicatories.[117] The first time that he attended Parliament, he pressed for an explanation of the oath of allegiance and supremacy which was to be imposed, but the motion was rejected.[118] In 1665 he went to London and tendered his resignation to the king, on account of the violent measures employed by the government, for which he felt himself to be "in some sort accessory."[119] Charles was moved with Leighton's account of the state of the country, and promising that gentler methods would be employed, persuaded him to return to his diocese. Later on, at Lord Tweeddale's instigation,[120] he paid another visit to Charles, and laid his views before him in two interviews. And when the king was bent upon measures of "moderation and comprehension," Leighton was, according to Burnet, "the only person among the Bishops that declared for these methods." [121]

His chance for putting his views as to "accommodation" [122] with the Presbyterians upon their

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[116] Burnet, I, 253. [117] I, 253-5. [118] I, 255.

[119] I, 382.

[120] Tweeddale's aim was "to bring in a set of Episcopal men of another stamp, and to set Leighton at their head." Burnet, I, 443.

[121] I, 496. [122] See above, page 199.

trial came when he was appointed Archbishop of Glasgow. Wearied out by divisions and contentions, and hopeless of their cure, oppressed too with feeble health, and the "dreadful weight" of his Episcopal charge, he had decided by 1670 to resign Dunblane and retire into private life.[123] He was therefore most unwilling to accept charge of the diocese in which the greater part of the covenanting troubles was located. However, he was persuaded by Lauderdale and Tweeddale to accept the Archbishopric. For his scheme "all assistance" was promised him from the government,[124] and Charles, whom Leighton again visited in London, signified his approval. While retaining the oversight of Dunblane till 1672, he took charge of Glasgow in 1670, and was "solemnly invested" at some date after 3rd October, 1671.[125] His unworldliness was again shewn by his refusal to accept, at least in 1670, more than a fifth of the income of Glasgow.[126]

Leighton entered upon his campaign of conciliation with prompt enthusiasm. At a synod in Glasgow he urged upon his disaffected clergy counsels of a spiritual character, which, it would seem, sent them home bewildered and unedified.[127] Then, with his friend Gilbert Burnet, he went on a tour

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[123] Butler, p. 435.
[124] Burnet, I, 518-9.
[125] Butler, pp. 494, 495; also 435-6.
[126] 436; n. 3.
[127] Burnet, I, 519-20.

amongst the most eminent of the indulged clergy to explain his proposals of peace, and to inform them that a conference would be held in Edinburgh for their discussion. Their reception was a chilling one, and Leighton was discouraged. Yet he persevered, and a series of conferences took place between August 1670 and January 1671 in Edinburgh and elsewhere. Burnet says that "the far greater part of the nation" approved of Leighton's scheme,[128] but those immediately concerned would have none of it. Sharp viewed the proposal to abolish the veto of the Bishops as an undermining of Episcopacy, while the "inferior" clergy "hated the whole thing." The "bigot Presbyterians" thought it was a snare, and rejected the offer. The only effect of Leighton's effort was a temporary lull in the storm. "Ye west sea is at present pretty calm," he wrote to Lauderdale, "and wee are in a tolerable degree of quiet." [129]

A similar result attended the Archbishop's plan of sending six Episcopal divines through the western counties, to preach in vacant churches, and to assist the Episcopal clergy where the congregations were refractory. Their mission was to commend the accommodation, and to induce the people to frequent the public ordinances.[130] Burnet, who was one of "Leighton's Evangelists," says[131]

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[128] I, 522. [129] Butler, p. 455. [130] *Ibid.*, p. 438.
[131] Burnet, I, 524.

that the people came to hear them, though not in great crowds. They were amazed to find that the meanest of them, "their cottagers, and their servants" were so able and so ready to argue about points of government and on the limits to the spiritual power of princes. They had texts of scripture and answers at every point, but they were "vain of their knowledge, much conceited of themselves, and were full of a much entangled scrupulosity." Although for a time the conventicles became lest frequent, a set of "hot preachers" soon obliterated any good results that Burnet and his colleagues may have effected, by going round wherever they had been, and telling the people that "the Devil was never so formidable, as when he was transformed into an angel of light." [182]

Yet something was effected in the way of conciliation. An Indulgence had been offered in 1669, by which over forty ejected ministers who lived "peaceably and orderly" were reinstated in parishes, and in 1672 by a second Indulgence about eighty were similarly restored. But to Leighton the ultimate outlook seemed little better than before. Kind and tolerant as he was towards the irreconcilables, he spoke sharply enough about their attitude. "I confess I have a doubt," he says, " . . . whether it were wisely done, or to any purpose at all, to offer a right reason to any

[182] I, 525.

man when it hath come in his head to offer such scruples as these."[183] He was now thoroughly tired of the "wild and insolent attempts" of "that forward party,"[184] "drunk with opinion of themselves," [185] and he even seems to have acquiesced in the opinion that "those coercions and civil restraints" which had been intermitted would need to be renewed.[186]

Doubtless it was partly in order to avoid participation in such a course that the Archbishop went to London in 1673[187] and placed his resignation in the king's hands. His want of sympathy with the whole trend of Episcopal government since his consecration, especially with the oppressive policy of Lauderdale and the executive, the difficulty of managing his troublesome diocese, and his inability to find proper men to fill the vacant charges in it, together with the failure of his own "Accommodation," made him utterly weary and hopeless. All that Charles could do was to command him to stay in his office for another year. His desire was to live and die in the communion of the Church of England,[188] and accordingly, when relieved from office in 1674, after staying for a time in his rooms in Edinburgh University,[189] he retired to live with his sister at Broadhurst, in Horsted Keynes, Sussex.

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[183] Butler, p. 462. [184] p. 467. [185] p. 468.
[186] *Cf.*, p. 459; n. 2. [187] p. 458. [188] p. 480. [189] p. 501.

The last ten years of Leighton's life were spent very quietly in study and good works. He was continually employed in preaching and taking service in the parish where he lived and in the vicinity; and Burnet, who was his almoner in London, says that he gave away all that he had in charities. Yet his thoughts often went back with longing to Scotland. The Church of England seemed on closer knowledge "like a fair carcase of a body without a spirit," and he lamented "the shameful advances that we seemed to be making towards popery."[140] Indeed there was at one time a prospect of his returning to work in Scotland. After the brutal murder of his late colleague, Archbishop Sharp, on Magus Muir in 1679, the covenanters routed Graham of Claverhouse at Drumclog, and were in turn defeated by the Duke of Monmouth at Bothwell Brig. Monmouth was in favour of peaceful measures, and persuaded Charles to write to Leighton asking him to go to Scotland and use his influence in persuading the nonconformists to ways of concord, "till you resolve to serve me in a stated employment." [141]

This however was not to be. Monmouth's influence did not last, and until his death in 1684 Leighton passed his days in peaceful retirement. The manner of his end was as he had often wished, to die in an inn. He had come to London, at

[140] Burnet, II, 428-9. [141] Butler, p. 506.

Burnet's request, and put up at the Bell Inn[142] in Warwick Lane, under the shadow of St. Paul's Cathedral. To his friend he seemed to be surprisingly fresh and well. "His hair was still black, and all his motions were lively: he had the same quickness of thought and strength of memory, but above all the same heat and life of devotion, that I had ever seen in him." [143] But Leighton felt that "his work and journey were now almost done." Next day he was ill with pleurisy, and on the 25th of June, 1684, his saintly spirit found the rest for which he had so often longed in vain.

Such a character as Leighton's needs no panegyric. He was a man apart from his fellows, both in holiness and spiritual perception, who strove faithfully to do his duty to God and man in a difficult world. And if he failed to accomplish what he hoped, the story of what he tried to do is a splendid heritage for Scotland, and one which may yet help to bring about the happy consummation for which he worked and prayed.

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[142] Now demolished. [143] Burnet, II, 427.

STATUE OF BISHOP JOHN SKINNER
Flaxman
In St. Andrew's Cathedral, Aberdeen

VI—THE DAYS OF THE PENAL LAWS

John Skinner of Linshart

Presbyter and Poet

(1721—1807)

Five years had not passed after the death of the good Archbishop Leighton, when the ecclesiastical system for which he had laboured so devotedly, and of which his own life and character had been so precious an adornment, was, for the last time, removed from its privileged position as the established form of religion in Scotland. The accession in 1685 of the Roman Catholic king James, Second of England and Seventh of Scotland, was followed by a period of misrule which filled the cup to the brim, and resulted in the downfall of the Stuart dynasty. In the end of 1688 James had fled from his kingdom, and William of Orange was more or less securely seated on the vacant throne. Amongst all the great and numerous changes which this political revolution brought about, one of the most striking and important was the overthrow of Episcopacy in Scotland and the establishment of Presbyterianism in its place.

This event was full of far-reaching consequences

which could not be realised at the time. The religious equilibrium of Scotland, which since 1560 had resulted in what has been referred to as a see-saw condition of things, now began to disappear under the stress of new influences and circumstances, which reduced Scottish Episcopacy to the "shadow of a shade." The romantic but disastrous loyalty of the Scottish Bishops and a great part of their clergy and people to the Stuart cause was the main reason of this change. The refusal of the Bishops to acknowledge William of Orange as their rightful king compelled that monarch to acquiesce in the disestablishment of Scottish Episcopacy; and the subsequent share taken by Episcopalians in the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745 brought down upon their unfortunate Church the vengeance of the government in the shape of oppressive penal laws, whose object was to stamp out Episcopacy in Scotland. The result of these penal laws was, as their authors desired, to diminish sadly the number of those who still clung to their Church, and the wonder is that any adherents of the proscribed faith were left. But a faithful remnant was found, especially in the North-eastern part of Scotland, whom no persecutions or disasters could move from their allegiance, and who kept the Church's lamp alight in the hour of its greatest depression and distress. It does not therefore seem too much to say that, while the present Presbyterian establishment in all probability

owes its origin to the political exigencies of William of Orange, it derived its present great numerical ascendancy from those of George of Hanover and his son.

The story of the efforts which William of Orange made to secure the support of the adherents of Episcopacy in Scotland is a curious one, and reveals the ecclesiastical possibilities which for a short time existed. While still in Holland, William had formed the policy of overthrowing the established form of religion in Scotland, believing as he did, on the authority of his Presbyterian adviser, William Carstares, that it had little support in the country. On coming to England, however, he found out more accurately the state of affairs, and would seem to have changed his mind. Bishop Rose of Edinburgh, who had been commissioned by his brother Bishops in Scotland at the end of 1688 to repair to London for the purpose of tendering their duty to King James, and of conferring with the English prelates on the state of affairs, found on reaching the capital that the Revolution had taken place, and that his aim must now be to labour for the preservation of the ecclesiastical *status quo* in Scotland. Such a task was indeed a difficult and embarrassing one for an envoy who would not wait on William, nor congratulate him on the success of his expedition;[1]

[1] Grub. *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, III, 296, 297.

and yet William shewed a singular readiness to come to terms. Dr. Compton, the Bishop of London, was empowered by the king to inform Rose that "if you will undertake to serve him to the purpose that he is served here in England, he will take you by the hand, support the Church and order, and throw off the Presbyterians." [2]

Even after Rose had rejected this advance William made a personal appeal to him. In order to procure a pass for his return to Scotland the Scottish Bishop at last sought an audience at Whitehall, when a short but dramatic interview took place. "My Lord," said the king, "are you going for Scotland?" The Bishop answered, "Yes Sir, if you have any commands for me." The prince replied, "I hope you will be kind to me, and follow the example of England." Rose was "something difficulted how to make a mannerly and discreet answer without entangling" himself, but replied, "Sir, I will serve you so far as law, reason, or conscience, shall allow me." The prince turned on his heel without another word, and the Bishop soon afterwards returned to Scotland.[3] Nor was this the last chance which William held out to the Episcopal party. On the eve of the Parliamentary Convention of 1689, the Duke of Hamilton, its president, endeavoured to win over the primate and the Bishop of Edinburgh to the side of William,

[2] Grub, III, 297. [3] Grub, III, 297-8.

assuring them that he had it in special charge from William, that nothing should be done to the prejudice of Episcopacy if the Bishops would support him, and entreating them to follow the example of the Church of England.

These facts make it difficult to resist the conclusion that the parliamentary proceedings which resulted in the overthrow of Episcopacy and the establishment of Presbyterianism might have been so engineered as to produce an entirely different result, but for the loyalty of the Bishops to their Jacobite principles. As it was, however, the Claim of Right was passed in April, 1869, embodying the famous declaration that "Prelacy and superiority of any office in the Church above presbyters is, and hath been, a great and unsupportable grievance and trouble to this nation, and contrary to the inclinations of the generality of the people ever since the reformation, they having been reformed from Popery by presbyters, and therefore ought to be abolished."[4] On July 22nd Prelacy was abolished, and it was left to the king and queen, with consent of parliament, to settle that church government which was most agreeable to the inclinations of the people.[5] During the next session of Parliament, which met on 15th April, 1690, the Westminster Confession of Faith was approved, the Presbyterian form of Church gov-

[4] Grub, III, 299-300. [5] *Ibid.*, 303.

ernment and discipline was established, and the exercise of Church government in Scotland was entrusted to some sixty ministers who had been deprived since 1661, and who were now restored to their benefices, and to such ministers and elders as they should admit.[6] One marked feature of the new establishment was that the National Covenant and the Solemn League and Covenant were dropped, much to the chagrin of the Cameronians of the west.

The statement in the Claim of Right which has been quoted above is doubtless responsible for the belief which is still shared by many respectable Presbyterian writers, that the ecclesiastical revolution of 1689-90 was accomplished by a wave of popular indignation on the part of the people of Scotland against Episcopacy. Yet although that statement may truly have represented the opinions of the parliamentary majority who managed to pass it,[7] its accuracy is another question altogether. It so happens that we have the opinions of unbiased witnesses about the time of the revolution, as to the strength of Episcopacy in Scotland, which throw a very different light on the matter. Lord Tarbet, writing in 1689 says "the Presbyterians are the more zealous and hotter; the other more numerous and powerful," while in the following year the zealous Presbyterian, General Mackay,

[6] *Ibid.*, 305.

[7] Grub, III, 299.

declares "let men flatter themselves as they will, I tell you who know Scotland, and where the strength and weakness of it doth lie, that if I were as much an enemy to that interest (*i.e.*, of Presbyterianism) as I am a friend, I would without difficulty engage to form in Scotland a more formidable party against it, even for their majesties' government, than can be formed for it."[8] To which may be added the later testimony of the Presbyterian Carlyle of Inveresk, that in 1689 and later "more than two-thirds of the people of the country, and most of the gentry were Episcopals."[9]

Whatever weight be given to these testimonies, it is clear that Episcopacy in 1689 was, to say the least, not "contrary to the inclination of the generality of the people." As the late Principal Story admits, "the 'Revolution Settlement' was of all conceivable settlements, the most 'Erastian.'"[10] The voice of the Church was not consulted, and the request made by the synod of Aberdeen that the ecclesiastical polity should be settled by a free General Assembly was rejected by the Parliament of 1689, knowing as it did that the vote of the majority would have been for Episcopacy.[11] Dr. Grub's statement as to the religious sympa-

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[8] See authorities in Grub, III, 317.

[9] *Autobiography*, p. 249.

[10] *William Carstares*, p. 187. The Restoration Settlement had been equally Erastian.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 186.

thies of Scotland is as follows. In the south western counties the covenanting Cameronians prevailed, and in the south generally Episcopacy was unpopular. Between the Forth and the Tay the parties were more equally divided, while north of the Tay the supporters of Episcopacy were much superior in number.[12]

Some modern Episcopalian writers have censured the Scottish Bishops for allowing the church to be disestablished when submission to William would have saved it, but such an opinion could only arise from a defective historical imagination. Had the Bishops at this point abandoned the Stuart cause they would, as Grub maintains, have violated every principle of honour and duty.[13] Besides, they had good reason to expect a speedy turn of fortune's wheel, which would undo the work of 1689. And so they went cheerfully out into the wilderness, little imagining how long and how bitter their exile was to be. And although poverty and persecution was the Church's lot hereafter, and she never regained her temporal power as she hoped, her trial was one which purged and purified her, and which brought her spiritual blessings and a consciousness of her special mission, which might never otherwise have come to her.

During William's reign no effort was made to compel the Episcopal laity to conform to Presby-

[12] III, 316. [13] III, 301.

terianism, and it was thus possible for the Bishops and clergy to maintain without difficulty an ecclesiastical organization distinct and separate from that of the establishment. This separation between Episcopalians and Presbyterians had been prepared for by the rise of the Cameronians, together with the Indulgence of Charles and the Toleration of James, but considering the scale on which it was effected, it formed a new departure in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland. It cannot indeed be said that the Bishops rose to the opportunity which presented itself in this connection. Had they possessed a man of outstanding genius, to organise the disestablished church, to devise means for its financial support, and to furnish it with a policy, the course of events might have been very different. But these good and worthy prelates, dispossessed of their sees and their incomes, and hampered by their relations with "the king across the water," effaced themselves from public notice and became what Viscount Dundee described as "the Kirk invisible." When vacancies were made in their number by death, they did not venture to fill up the sees without Stuart royal authority,[14] but simply consecrated "non-ruling" Bishops to continue the Episcopal succession, Fullarton, Sage the scholar,

[14] Represented by a body of trustees, of which Lockhart of Carnwarth was the chief member.

Archibald Campbell, grandson of the covenanting Marquis of Argyll, and others.

Of the clergy a large number in the west had been dispossessed on Christmas Day, 1688, by the Cameronians under circumstances of great violence and hardship, in the course of what was called the "rabbling of the curates." Many others in the south had been deprived after the 13th of April, 1689, for refusing to pray for William and Mary, while others were removed to make room for the sixty Presbyterian ministers who were reinstated to their former charges in April, 1690. Very many others were ejected from their livings in the south and elsewhere by the ecclesiastical courts, but in the northern and central provinces most of those who took the oaths remained in possession of their livings, and were even succeeded by Episcopal incumbents.[15] Of the deprived clergy some found ecclesiastical appointments in England, Ireland, and the colonies, others resided in the families of Episcopalian gentry and nobility, while others were supported by those attending their meeting-houses. Sums of money were also collected for the support of distressed and destitute clergy and their families.[16]

William's policy of moderation in ecclesiastical matters, and his continual efforts to curb the

[15] So late as 1707 there were 165 Episcopal Ministers in their parishes in spite of all efforts to dislodge them.
[16] Grub, III, 315.

Presbyterian courts in their harsh treatment of the Episcopal clergy rendered the lot of the disestablished Church a fairly tolerable one, and during the reign of the good Queen Anne matters became more prosperous still. The queen had much sympathy for the struggling Church in Scotland, and did much to protect it. A Toleration Act was passed in 1712, declaring the liberty of Episcopal worship under espiscopally ordained pastors, with the right to use the English Prayer Book. It was during this time that the use of the Book of Common Prayer became prevalent in Scotland. Nineteen thousand copies were sent for distribution by sympathisers in England, and the clergy were emboldened to use the English liturgical forms openly, both in chapel and by the grave-side.

This happier state of things however was only the sunshine before the storm. The death of Queen Anne in 1714 and the accession of George of Hanover ushered in days of dire disaster for the cause of Scottish Episcopacy. When the Earl of Mar raised the Stuart standard in 1715, many of his chief supporters were members of the Episcopal Church, and the Jacobite clergy took a prominent part in the movement. It was therefore only natural that when the rash and ill-managed affair ended in failure after Sheriffmuir and Preston, the defeated side should suffer for their mistake. The policy of the Hanoverian government however went beyond the punishment of individuals,

and a blow was struck at their religion. In Edinburgh most of the clergy were fined[17] for not having registered their letters of orders and for not praying for King George, and in the diocese of Aberdeen thirty-six clergy, of whom two-thirds were still parochial ministers, were ejected from their charges, in several cases by the aid of soldiers. Similar proceedings took place elsewhere.

In 1719 the first Penal Act fell upon the devoted Church. By this measure no person was permitted to officiate in any Episcopal meeting-house or congregation where nine or more persons were present in addition to the members of the household, without praying in express words for King George and the royal family, and without having taken the oath of abjuration, under the penalty of six months' imprisonment, and of having the meeting-house shut up for the same period. One result of this act was the formation of "qualified" congregations, consisting largely of English families, who had no objections to its provisions. These were eventually disowned by the Jacobite Bishops and a breach was formed between English and Scottish Episcopalians in Scotland, whose effects have not yet quite passed away.

One of the most outstanding and representative figures of the Church during the long period of distress and oppression which was now ushered

[17] George wished their meeting-houses to be closed, but the judicial authorities pled legal difficulties.

in, is that of John Skinner the famous parson of Longside, in the Buchan district of Aberdeenshire. Although his lot in life was to minister to a large country congregation, with a daily round of laborious duties, and poverty as his earthly guerdon, his character and his gifts of head and heart were such as to render him one of the most distinguished men of his day in the north of Scotland. As a poet of real genius he shed no little lustre upon his native country, and commanded the unfeigned admiration of his younger contemporary and correspondent Robert Burns. His best songs have long ago taken their place among the imperishable elements of our national literature, and although the fruits of his learning were of a less durable nature, he was on his own lines one of the best theologians and scholars of his day in Scotland. But it is also as a Churchman that Skinner has a claim upon the admiration and gratitude of many of his fellow-countrymen. Not only was he one of those who suffered in person and in possessions from the operation of the penal laws, but at the most distressful and critical epoch of the Church's history he stood out pre-eminent among its defenders,[18] and to him probably more than to any other man is to be credited the rescue of Scottish Epis-

[18] The stamp of his mind is on almost everything that issued from the Northern press in the interests of his Church for three-quarters of a century. Walker, *Life and Times of Dean Skinner*, p. 4.

copacy from the rut into which it had fallen, as a politico-religious body apparently doomed to speedy extinction by its adherence to Jacobite principles. Nor is it to be forgotten that John Skinner was the progenitor of a long line of distinguished Scottish ecclesiastics which continues to the present day. Both his son and his grandson occupied the position of Bishop of Aberdeen and of Primus,[19] while his great-great-grandson, the present Dean of the Cathedral and Diocese of Edinburgh, upholds worthily the ecclesiastical traditions of his family.

It was at Balfour, among the hills of Birse on Deeside in Aberdeenshire, that Skinner was born. His father was a distinguished member of the brotherhood of parish dominies who for centuries played so valuable and so characteristic a part in the education of Scotland. He was noted in his day for the number of country lads whom he prepared for the university, and he is described by a contemporary writer, Ramsay of Ochtertyre, as "a very learned and worthy man, placed in circumstances nowise adequate to his merit."[20] He was also, according to the same authority, a zealous whig and Presbyterian, therefore little prepared to sympathise with his son's career as an adherent of Episcopacy. After the latter's de-

[19] The elective President of the body of Scottish Bishops.

[20] *Scotland and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century.* Edited by A. Allardyce, p. 520.

fection from Presbyterianism he said to him one day, "John, he who changes once may change again. When you take that step next whether will you turn Papist or Quaker?" The younger John had at all times the happy gift of turning an awkward corner by a witty answer, and on this occasion he replied: "Sir, that is like asking a man to choose between gout and the gravel."[21]

Skinner lost his mother, who had been the widow of the Laird of Balfour, Mr. Donald Farquharson, at the time of her second marriage, while he was still an infant, and his father soon afterwards removed to the parish school of Echt, twelve miles from Aberdeen. There in due course the boy was prepared for entrance to Marischal college, of which he became a bursar at the age of thirteen. During his academic course the young student shewed great proficiency in the composition of Latin verse, a pursuit in which he took delight to the end of his life. According to Ramsay he became very intimate at this time with some of the Aberdeen Episcopal clergy, who induced him to adopt their views and principles,[22] but this is probably to put the case too strongly. He may have then gained an acquaintance and a sympathy with Episcopal principles which afterwards bore fruit, but the definite change seems to have come later.

In an unpublished letter dated Linshart, March

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 521. [22] *Ibid.*

28, 1797,[22] Skinner gives a graphic and short account of his career, which is of considerable biographical interest. "My lot in life," he says, "has much prevented the improvement of that portion of talents wch the Divine goodness had bestow'd upon me, and checked me in many pursuits that I was fond of and (foolishly perhaps) fancy'd myself fit for. Brought up a Presbyterian at the feet of one of the then Gamaliels, sent abroad into the wide world after my academical courses in the 17th year of my age wt not a shilling in my pocket, nor any friend to support me, taught a country school for 18 months when I gave it up as inconsistent wt the principles I had then adopted, and wt one solitary guinea went up to Edinburgh to push my fortune, engag'd there to go to Shetland to teach a Gentleman's son, where, after a year's hard and unsuccessful labour wt a blockhead, I married when but turn'd of 20 a poor Clergyman's daughter of much the same age, came back to this country, where, after half a year's waiting and wandring, I was ordained by the venerable Bishop Dunbar *beatae memoriae,* and settled when just turn'd of 21 in my present laborious and extensive charge upon 25£s for many years till it has at last crept up to near 50, was plunder'd of my few books and clothes in 46, was imprison'd for 6 months in 53, since when I have put 3 sons to

[22] To the Reverend Mr. Johnathan Boucher, Vicar of Epsom, Surrey.

College, have rigg'd out 3 for America two of whom are dead, and have married out 4 daughters."

Skinner's dominie days were spent in two Aberdeenshire villages, Kemnay and Monymusk. The latter spot, nestling by the river Don amongst the hills that culminate in Ben-achie, is one of the most lovely on Donside. The young man's poetic qualities found stimulus amidst his beautiful surroundings and he threw off a number of poems, "illustrative of local scenery and events."[24] The most famous of these productions was a long poem in the most Doric Aberdeenshire dialect, entitled "The Monymusk Christmas Ba'ing," in which the rough-and-tumble incidents of an annual game of football[25] played by the village worthies are described with rare humour and Homeric vigour. Although written in imitation of that old and famous poem of royal authorship, "Chrystis Kirk on the Green," which Skinner had committed to memory before he was twelve years old, and which in later life he translated into Latin verse, the "Ba'ing" has both originality and individual power, and still retains its popularity in the North of Scotland.

It was during his sojourn at Monymusk that Skinner came to the great decision of his life, and

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[24] Walker, pp. 6-13.

[25] This custom was once common in Aberdeenshire, but is now heard of only in one or two towns in the North of Scotland, and towards the border.

accepted the principles of Episcopacy. Of the reasons which induced the young man to throw in his lot with a proscribed and impoverished Church, we have no record. It would seem that much was due to the influence of the Rev. Alexander Lunan, the Episcopal minister of the district, and perhaps something was owing to Lady Grant of Monymusk, who was greatly interested in the poetical productions of the young schoolmaster. Whatever may be thought of the wisdom of this step, there can be no doubt of its unselfishness. With his eyes open Skinner gave up the career as a parish minister to which his schoolmastering was meant to lead, and embraced a life of genteel poverty, in which his great talents never received adequate scope or recognition.

Proceeding to Edinburgh with his "one solitary guinea" in his pocket, Skinner found a friend in the Jacobite parson of Leith, the Rev. Robert Forbes, afterwards Bishop of Ross and Caithness, and compiler of *The Lyon in Mourning*.[26] Forbes not only re-baptized and presented for confirmation the young convert, but found him a situation as tutor to the only son of Mr. Robert Sinclair, of Scalloway in Shetland.[27] The following entry in Forbes's register of baptisms etc. is of interest.

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[26] A famous account of the adventures of Bonnie Prince Charlie before and after Culloden.

[27] Walker, p. 16; Ramsay (p. 522) says that it was Mr. Thomas Ruddiman who sent Skinner to Shetland.

"1740, June 8th (1st Sunday after Trinity). Mr. John Skinner came to my Room after Vespers, and, at his own Desire, received Baptism from me, after that he had declared, that he was not satisfied with the springling of a Layman, a Presbyterian Teacher, he had received in his infancy, and had adduc'd several weighty arguments for this his conduct."[28] The young pedagogue's tutorial experiences in Shetland were, as has been indicated, of a discouraging character,[29] and they were brought to a close by the death of his pupil's father. Before that event took place, however, Skinner had contracted an acquaintance and formed a life-union which must have brought abundant compensations for the irksome nature of his work. At this time the only Episcopal clergyman in the Shetland Isles was the Rev. John Hunter, a devoted and hard-working pastor, who strove to keep together as best he could his widely scattered flock. The young convert naturally became intimate with Mr. Hunter and his family, and on the 12th Nov. 1741 an attachment with the eldest daughter, Grissel, was consummated by the marriage of the young pair. If such a union did not evince much foresight, it was certainly justified by its success. Although neither wealth nor worldly prosperity attended them, Skinner and his wife

[28] Craven. *Bishop R. Forbes' Journals*, p. 11.

[29] He would seem to have acted as chaplain in Mr. Sinclair's family as well. Walker p. 23.

enjoyed for many years true happiness and long-continued blessings. In *The Old Man's Song* the poet sings toward the close of his life with much tenderness, the beauty of the joys of his married life.

"O! why should old age so much wound us?
There is nothing in it all to confound us;
For how happy now am I
With my auld wife sitting by
And our bairns and our oys[80] all around us.
"We began in the warld wi' naething,
And we've jogg'd on and toil'd for the ae thing,
We made use of what we had,
And our thankful hearts were glad;
When we got the bit meat and the claithing."

When it again became necessary for Skinner to look about for a livelihood, his thoughts naturally turned to his native county. In Aberdeenshire there was a demand for candidates for Holy Orders, towards which he may be said to have already taken a step, by acting as "chaplain" at Scalloway. Accordingly he left his wife in her father's care, and betook himself to the small country town of Old Meldrum, some twenty miles north of Aberdeen. There, in accordance with the stern traditions of the northern student, he started to prepare for Orders with a firlot of meal for his food, and a barrowful of peats which he had wheeled home himself for fuel. His frugal manner of living,[81] no less

[80] Grandchildren.

[81] Walker, p. 26.

than his brilliant talents,[22] recommended him to the Bishop, who ordained him to the diaconate at Peterhead on the 22nd Aug. 1742. In November of that year Skinner was appointed to his life-charge of Longside, where for 65 years he laboured faithfully and with success in the service of the Church of his adoption.

Half a century had now elapsed since the disestablishment of the Church to whose ministry Skinner was now admitted, and during that period changes of great importance had taken place in her character. Besides the inevitable shrinkage in the numbers both of her clergy and her people, developments had taken place in the sphere of her Church Government, and in her ceremonial and liturgical equipment which must now be briefly touched upon. In the first place, her Bishops had gradually become diocesan rulers once more. The foolish and ultra-Erastian system of non-ruling Bishops had broken down after the death of Bishop Rose of Edinburgh, the last of the pre-revolution prelates. Episcopacy in Scotland has passed through many strange phases, and not the

[22] Mr. R. Kilgour, afterwards a Bishop, being suspicious of new converts, entreated Bishop Dunbar, who was to ordain young Skinner, to examine him very strictly. The Bishop who was a primitive, venerable man, answered mildly, "Robin, that young man is very well qualified. Believe me, he is fit to examine you and me, being learned and able beyond his years." *Scotland and Scotsmen*, etc., I, 522.

least strange was that in which the aged Rose held in his hands the whole government of the Church, while six other Bishops, consecrated merely to preserve the Episcopal succession, looked on idly without power or jurisdiction.[33] When Rose died in 1720 the non-ruling Bishops formed themselves into an Episcopal College, exercising corporate jurisdiction over the whole church, with Fullarton as Primus *inter pares*. Three of these Bishops were also elected by the clergy of Edinburgh, Angus, and Aberdeen, to perform Episcopal acts within those districts. In 1722 and later years, mainly on the nomination of the Chevalier through his trustees, other college Bishops were consecrated and more of their number were chosen as diocesan Bishops. This strange distinction of the rulers of the Church into diocesan and college Bishops lasted for about twenty years,[34] and its disappearance was one of the results of the ritual controversy which during that period distracted and divided the unfortunate Church.

The usages, as the ceremonial customs alluded to were termed, originated among the English nonjurors as a primitive and eastern revival, and were heartily adopted in certain parts of Scotland,[35] in reaction from the bare worship which

[33] Grub, III, 382.

[34] Bishop Ochterlonie, the last College Bishop, died in 1742.

[35] Especially in the diocese of Aberdeen.

had characterized the Church since the Restoration. The main usages were (1) the express invocation of the Holy Spirit at the consecration of the elements, (2) the prayer of oblation, (3) the commemoration of the faithful departed, and (4) the mixed chalice. Other less important usages were immersion in baptism, and the chrism in confirmation and in the anointing of the sick. While the college Bishops resolutely opposed the innovations, the diocesan Bishops were in favour of them, and a long and sad controversy ensued. In the end victory lay with the "usagers," and the non-ruling Bishops ceased to exist.

Closely bound up with the controversy over the usages is the development of the great liturgical feature of the Church, the Scottish Communion office. This form of service has passed through several stages, but its groundwork is the communion office of the 1637 Scottish Prayer Book, and, through the influence of an English non-juring office of 1718, the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. (1549). The custom had arisen of celebrating according to the 1637 Prayer Book, with omissions and transpositions, and in 1724 this office was published by Bishop Gadderar of Aberdeen, the first of the "wee bookies," as the copies of the Scottish Communion office were called. In 1735 two booksellers published, as a private venture, a "wee bookie" embodying the changes which took place in actual use, and which

up to that date the celebrant had marked in the margin by means of pen and ink. By the date of Skinner's ordination, this office was almost universally used outside the diocese of Edinburgh,[26] and to a certain extent in that district as well.

Scarcely had Skinner become well accustomed to the duties of his charge, when the country was convulsed with the Jacobite rising of 1745. That stirring event formed one of the most romantic episodes of Scottish history, but when the hopes of the Stuarts were shattered on the mournful field of Culloden, the Church which had furnished so many of the supporters of Prince Charlie entered upon her severest and darkest trial. Bands of armed troops from Cumberland's army scoured the country and burned the chapels or compelled the congregations to pay workmen to pull them down. Skinner is said to have donned the garb of a

[26] The subsequent stages of development were as follows. In 1743 the booksellers' "wee bookie" was republished, and in 1744 Bishop Rattray published *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem*, which, though used by very few, was the source of some of the most characteristic features of our present Scottish liturgy. In 1755 Bishop Falconer published a communion office embodying many of the points in Rattray's book, and in 1764 he and Bishop Robert Forbes issued what until the year 1912 was generally regarded as the authorized edition of the Scottish liturgy. In the latter year the Scottish Bishops issued an authoritative edition, which, however, does not supersede the older forms which are in use. See Dowden's *Annotated Scottish Communion Office*.

miller in order to evade the soldiers,[37] but one night[38] on returning home he found a party of Campbells ransacking and pillaging his humble abode. Even the apartment in which Mrs. Skinner lay in a delicate state of health was not respected, and the invaders carried away everything they could in the way of plunder. Next day the chapel was burnt, to the great delight of a local lady of rank who was credited with having brought the troops to Longside. This worthy person rode round the blazing chapel urging the destroyers to make their work complete, by "haudin' in the Prayerbooks", and later on ascended a hill where she could also enjoy the sight of the flames of the chapel of Old Deer, clapping her hands and exclaiming in words borrowed from Dickson, one of the Covenanting ministers of the former age, "The wark o' Guid gangs bonnily on!"[39] Skinner was, as we shall see, no Jacobite, but he may have incurred the enmity of his powerful neighbour in some unrecorded manner. Certainly the two stinging poetical lampoons which he wrote against her after the burning of his chapel, must have made her the laughing-stock of the whole countryside, but could only have kindled in her a fresh desire to work harm to their clever but injudicious author.

The period of military oppression was bad

[37] Walker, p. 29. [38] July 29, 1746. [39] Walker, p. 32.

enough for the suffering Church, but far worse was now to follow. Although the Episcopal clergy had been much less openly identified with the rising of '45 than their predecessors were with that of '15, the Hanoverian government now decided to put them under more stringent legal disabilities. In 1746 it was enacted that every Episcopal clergyman in Scotland should take the oath of abjuration and of allegiance to King George, register his letters of orders by the 1st of September, and pray for the Hanoverian king by name. Those who failed to do so were prohibited from ministering to five or more persons except when the service was held in a house where a family resided, in which case the household was allowed to attend as well. The penalties for the clergy were imprisonment for six months for a first offence, and after that, transportation to the plantations in America for life. The laity also incurred penalties and disabilities for attending the proscribed services, including a fine of five pounds for the first offence, and imprisonment for two years in cases of further disobedience.

The result was that on the 1st of September 1746 the public worship of the Episcopal Church practically ceased. The clergy did their best to minister privately to their flocks under the great disabilities imposed upon them, and some were imprisoned for ministering to more than the pre-

scribed number.[40] Five ministers, however, availed themselves of the provisions of the act, and seem to have continued their services without molestation. Amongst them was Skinner of Linshart, who, although loyal to his Church, shared with many others[41] an inability to see the necessary connection between Jacobitism and Church principles. The prevailing opinion, however, in his Communion was that such compliance was a sin, and Skinner with his neighbour of Old Deer had to bow to it. They are said to have "repented" and to have been "absolved by their Bishop, Mr. Gerard."[42] Skinner's repentance does not, however, seem to have prevented him from praying for King George,[43] until the penal act of 1748 made such compliance useless.

By dint of the toleration thus secured, and with the help of a little tract entitled "A preservative against Presbytery" which he wrote in 1746, the zealous young pastor of twenty-five seems to have succeeded in keeping his large flock together. As late as 1792 the Longside chapel was able to contain over 1000 of a congregation,[44] and there were usually 800 communicants at Easter.[45] Only by the most extraordinary exertions on the

[40] Grub, IV, 37.

[41] "He assured me that his opinions were likewise held by some of the most venerable and respectable clergymen of his Church." *Scotland and Scotsmen*, p. 523.

[42] *Walker*, p. 40. [43] *Ibid.*, p. 44.

[44] *Scotland*, etc., p. 537. [45] *Ibid.*, p. 526.

part of its pastor could such a congregation have been preserved during the trying period which now followed. In the year 1748 a new penal act was passed of a far more stringent character than that of 1746. It was now decreed that no Episcopal clergyman in Scottish orders had any claim for toleration as under the former law, and that he might only officiate in his own house, with four fellow worshippers besides his own family. In other words, clergy whose orders were neither English nor Irish were denied any rights of conducting worship beyond those possessed by every householder in the land.

Under this staggering blow the clergy went bravely on trying to minister to their congregations. They did their best to keep within the letter of the law, but its spirit they could not but violate, if the Church was to exist any longer. Sometimes they met their people in a smithy or a barn or a workshop, sometimes in the open air in solitary glens and woods and remote mountain sides. The most common device was to accommodate the congregation in different apartments of the priest's house, while he conducted the service at some point where all could hear him.[46] This was the expedient adopted at Linshart, where Skinner's house still stands, in the form of a half-square. The congregation took up their position partly outside, in snowy or wet weather or dry, and

[46] See Appendix E, *Seat Rents under the penal laws.*

partly inside the house, while the pastor read the service and preached at a window in the angle formed by the two wings. The discomfort and inconvenience of such a service may well be imagined. On one famous occasion a frightened hen scattered the pages of Skinner's sermon to the winds, and brought the discourse to an untimely end. "Never mind them," said the witty and undaunted cleric, "a fool (fowl) shall never shut my mouth again," and from that day forward he preached without the assistance of a manuscript.

It was inevitable that some of the clergy should be caught within the meshes of the law. In 1748 three non-juring pastors were shut up in Stonehaven Jail,[47] and in 1755 the Rev. John Connocher was sentenced to perpetual banishment from Scotland, and forbidden to return under pain of death.[48] Skinner's ministrations were abruptly interrupted by his arrest in May 1753, on a charge of ministering to more than the statutory number. Doubtless his success in keeping so large a congregation intact had directed attention to his methods, but in all probability he had also to thank his own propensity to poetical satire for this misfortune. He had written two stinging lampoons in

[47] The window is still visible through which they undauntedly baptized the infants carried to the back of the prison by fisherwomen in their creels. One of their number used to play lively Jacobite airs on the pipes or fiddle, to keep up the spirits of his visitors outside.

[48] Grub, IV, 42.

1747 upon the lady who caused the burning of his church, and in 1751 he produced an "epitaph" for her. Not content with this he wrote, about 1750, a poetical address, couched in very strong terms, to no less a person than the Public Prosecutor of the county of Aberdeen, Mr. David Morice, whose zeal in carrying out the penal laws displeased him. One can therefore hardly wonder that Skinner himself came under the unfriendly notice of the authorities.

Admitting his offence, the poet was sentenced to six months' imprisonment in the jail of Old Aberdeen. His lot however cannot be described as unhappy.[*] He was visited and cheered by many of the sympathetic inhabitants of Aberdeen, and his imprisonment was shared by his son John, the future Bishop of Aberdeen, then a lad of eight years of age. The health of the boy was so seriously threatened by the shock of his father's imprisonment, that he was allowed to become a voluntary inmate of Skinner's cell, where his presence must have helped to cheer the dull hours of captivity. Besides, the opportunity of quiet study was one which the incarcerated lover of books turned to good account. He had for years been studying Hebrew according to his opportunities, but now he laid the foundation of that critical knowledge of the Old Testament for which he was distinguished

[*] "I have heard him say that he was never happier than during his imprisonment." *Scotland*, etc., I, 525.

till the end of his life. When his term of imprisonment expired, Ramsay of Ochtertyre informs us,[50] he returned home in triumph, being regarded as a confessor for Episcopacy.

It was not until the accession of George III. in 1760 that any alleviation of the lot of the suffering Church took place. The new king was averse to a rigorous enforcement of the penal laws, and gradually the Episcopal congregations began to build rough and unpretentious buildings to shelter them from the weather during worship. Such a rude meeting house was erected near Skinner's dwelling about this time, and in 1799 this was replaced by a still rude but more Churchlike structure. Ramsay's description of what he saw at Linshart in 1792 may here be referred to.[51] The chapel was primitive and unadorned, having the appearance of a vast barn shaped like a cross. The building was thatched, and although too low in the roof for lofts or galleries, it could contain over 1000 worshippers. The altar was very plain, "being a square seat (*sic*) immediately below a very humble pulpit."

Skinner's life for the next twenty years may be passed over lightly. It was occupied for the most part with study and literary work, in addition to the engrossing duties of a country charge. For nearly seven years from 1758 he engaged in an un-

[50] *Ibid.* [51] *Scotland*, etc., I, 537.

successful attempt at farming, at the end of which he was glad, in his own words, to

> "Sell corn and cattle off; pay every man;
> Get free of debts and duns as fast's I can;
> Give up the farm with all its wants, and then,
> Why, take me to the book and pen."

If the poet student made a poor farmer, it was about this period that he produced his finest songs, *Tullochgorum*—the best song, according to Burns, that Scotland ever saw—and the famous *Ewie wi' the Crookit Horn.* Both subjects were suggested to the poet by others. The latter is a masterpiece of pathos and subtle humour, combined with sympathy for the lower creation, while *Tullochgorum* is a grand and sunny outburst in praise of brotherhood and good feeling, in words that are perfectly wedded to one of Scotland's most witching reels.

> "Come, gie's a sang Montgomery[52] cry'd,
> And lay your disputes all aside.
> What signifies't for folks to chide
> For what was done before them;
> Let Whig and Tory all agree,
> Whig and Tory, Whig and Tory,

[52] Mrs. Montgomery was the hostess of a clerical gathering at Ellon, where an acrimonious discussion had taken place. In order to change the conversation she suggested to Skinner that he should write words to the air of *Tullochgorum*, with the result that the famous song was produced.

Whig and Tory all agree,
To drop their Whig-meg-morum,
Let Whig and Tory all agree,
To spend the night wi' mirth and glee,
And cheerfu' sing alang wi' me
The reel o' Tullochgorum."

Skinner had an extraordinary facility in tossing off at a moment's notice a Scots song or a Latin epigram, and never seems to have taken his poetical talents seriously. The labour of revision was irksome to him, and he never attempted anything worthy of his genius. Most of his themes were suggested to him by others, or dictated by the fancy of the moment. Doubtless he felt that any fame which might be his in after days would result from his learned labours in the Hebrew Scriptures, in connection with a system of interpretation which is now as extinct as the dodo. This was Hutchinsonianism, a method of study which now seems wild and fanciful, but which appealed to many minds in the days when there was no science of philology, when Sanskrit was hardly known, and when it was universally believed that Hebrew was the earliest of all languages. Its aim was to subvert Newton's theory of the universe, and the Unitarianism which was then prevalent, and it proceeded by discarding the Hebrew vowel points, and then attaching speculative meanings to what was left. Skinner's poetical nature was strongly attracted to Hutchinson's theories in his prison days,

and he remained devoted to them until the end of his life, the subject being one upon which he could least bear contradiction or raillery.[53] During his lifetime he published *A dissertation on Jacob's prophecy,* Gen. xlix. 10 (1757), and after his death appeared a treatise on *the Shekinah,* and *An exposition of the Song of Solomon.* The *dissertation* brought a commendation from Dr. Sherlock, Bishop of London, and a handsome present of Calasio's Hebrew Concordance in four folio volumes.

Skinner's library was contained in "a closet of about five feet square," and he makes the pardonable boast to his grandson that "there are few who have published so much (whether valuable or not is out of the question) with so few books in their possession."[54] He was blessed, however, with a tenacious memory, and like most of the clergy of his time he kept commonplace books, in which he wrote down whatever he thought worthy of notice in the books of others to which he had access. The light in his study window served as a landmark to passing wayfarers, and the good man would never retire to rest so long as there was a chance of any human being needing the assistance of its guiding rays.

The home of Linshart was a famed centre of hospitality. All who came were sure of a wel-

[53] *Scotland,* etc., I, 531. [54] Walker, p. 95.

come and a place. If the fare was plain and homely, and the style of living frugal, the host was the life and soul of the company. He was an admirable conversationalist, and stories of his wit and humour yet abound in the district. As his family grew up, he would compose songs for them to sing to old Scottish tunes, and by word and example he promoted that happy social intercourse of which he sings in Tullochgorum.

> "Blythe and cheerie we'll be a'
> And make a happy quorum."

Of his family some did well in life, and others less well. His second son John, the companion of his imprisonment, was his favourite, and it is easy to imagine with what joy and pride he saw that son raised to the Episcopate in 1782, as Bishop of Aberdeen, after some years of valuable service as a priest at Ellon and Aberdeen.

It is related [55] that before the younger Skinner was appointed Bishop, some of the older clergy waited upon his father and urged him to allow himself to be nominated for the office. He excused himself, according to the story, in this way: "You wish me to be Bishop, do you? Well then, elect John. I shall then be Bishop all the same." Whether the words are authentic or not, they are not far wide of the mark as an expression of

[55] Walker, p. 126.

Skinner's influence upon general Church affairs in Scotland from this time forward. Able, energetic, and sensible as the Bishop was, his father's gifts were much greater, and it was to the younger man's credit and advantage that he relied upon Tullochgorum's learning and advice so much as he did. "The fact," says the grandson of the elder Skinner,[56] "is well known in Scotland, and his son, the Bishop, never attempted to conceal it, that in all his measures for the Church's relief and prosperity, he was, under God, more indebted to the head, the heart, and the hand of his own father.. ....than to any other fellow-labourer."

Hardly had the new Bishop entered upon his duties when a matter of the greatest importance emerged. An English dignitary who was dwelling at St. Andrews, Dr. Berkeley, sub-dean of Canterbury, and son of the famous Bishop of Cloyne, wrote to him[57] urging the Scottish Bishops to consider a project for sending out an "itinerant" Bishop to America, now that the end of the war of Independence was in sight. This proposal the Scottish Bishops wisely rejected, but, as is well known, a far happier result followed, when on Sunday, the 14th of November, 1784, Dr. Samuel Seabury was consecrated as first Bishop of Connecticut and of the American Church, by three

[56] *Annals of Scottish Episcopacy*, pp. 522-3.
[57] 9th Oct. 1782. *Scottish Church Review*, p. 36.

SAMUEL SEABURY, D.D.
First Bishop of Connecticut

Scottish Bishops, Kilgour, Petrie, and Skinner, in an upper room in Longacre, Aberdeen.

Of this important event the main management fell upon the shoulders of Bishop Skinner, and but for his firmness and energy the plan would probably have miscarried. He in his turn was able to rely upon the counsel and support of his father, as Dean Skinner of Forfar, his own son, testifies.[88] "The proposal to consecrate a Bishop for Connecticut was no sooner proposed to Bishop Skinner, and communicated to his father, than the good man became its zealous advocate and supporter. The Bishops, Kilgour and Petrie (men of the greatest private worth, but alike timid in disposition, as at that time they had become infirm in body) he stimulated to compliance by arguments which eventually proved irresistible, while his own son, who would modestly have declined the active part which he was constrained to take, he encouraged to the work with a zeal equally ardent, but more according to knowledge, than the zeal exhibited by the patrons of modern Christian missions."

The Scottish Church is proud of its connection with the great Church of America, and well it may be. For the consecration of the first American Bishop was more than the forging of a peculiarly intimate link between the two Churches. It proved to be the turning point in the depressed

[88] *Annals, ut supra.*

fortunes of the Church in Scotland. It brought a breath of new life and new hope into the minds of its members, and widened a horizon which had been narrowing for many years. And it brought into public prominence the almost forgotten fact of the Church's existence, and raised up in England friends whose zeal was afterwards enlisted in the repeal of the penal laws.

The condition of the Church at the time of Seabury's consecration was indeed a low one. Three of the four Bishops[59] who presided over it lived within the diocese of Aberdeen, so greatly had the area shrunk where a parochial charge could be found with a moderate stipend for a Bishop's support. Kilgour, the Primus, dwelt at Peterhead; Skinner his coadjutor had charge of the Longacre congregation in Aberdeen; while Petrie, the Bishop of Moray and Ross, ministered to the congregation of Folla Rule, visiting his Northern diocese at intervals of two or three years, riding on "a little Highland pony," and wearing the "shepherd's grey plaid" which was often his only canonical robe.[60] Under these four prelates there were about forty clergy, while the laity numbered probably less than a twentieth of the population of the country.[61]

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[59] A fifth, Falconer of Edinburgh, died just before Seabury's consecration.

[60] *Scottish Church Review*, Vol. I, p. 586.

[61] Grub, IV, 91.

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a [illegible] of new life [illegible]
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[a] [illegible] Falconer of Edinbur[illegible]
[illegible] congregation

[illegible] *Church Review*, Vol. [illegible]

[illegible] Geo. IV, 91.

BISHOP SEABURY'S MITRE
Preserved at Trinity College, Hartford
Front and side views

The Seabury correspondence enables one to frame a clear enough idea of the sentiments pervading the Church at this time. Persecution had rendered its leaders cautious and timid, although the penal laws were no longer rigorously enforced. Skinner's consecration was carried out so quietly that when Berkeley first wrote to him he was unaware of the fact that he was addressing a Bishop.[63] And nothing could illustrate the Church's obscurity and isolation better than Skinner's satisfaction at the thought that an English Church dignitary, in the person of Berkeley, had shewed it "the least mark of respect or sympathy."[64] Berkeley's description of the Scottish Church as "a plant in a dry ground,"[65] only echoes the depressed references of its own prelates then and for long afterwards to its apparently sinking state. The older generation was still opposed to the establishment in England, and in sympathy with the non-jurors there. Indeed the objection which Bishop Rose of Dunkeld urged against Seabury was "his having got his orders from the scismatical Church of England,"[66] and Skinner was doubtless much surprised to learn, in the course of the Seabury negotiations, that his three colleagues were at the time considering an application to consecrate, and send a Bishop to the non-juring remnant in England. For this

[63] *S. C. R.*, p. 38. [64] pp. 36 and 39. [65] p. 36.
[66] p. 589. Bishop Falconer "would take no concern in that proposal," p. 588.

step precedents could be urged,[**] and the action of English Bishops in ordaining men to take charge of "qualified" congregations in Scotland was keenly resented by the Scottish Bishops, but happily, no doubt through Skinner's firmness, the elder prelates did not proceed in the matter.

On the other hand, when after more than a year's ineffective waiting upon the English Bishops, Seabury turned to Scotland for aid, his request for consecration was freely granted. A concordat between the Scottish Church and that of Connecticut, drawn up by Bishops Skinner and Petrie, was agreed to, the main result of which was the framing of the American Communion office upon the model of the liturgy of the Scottish Church. At the historic scene in the Longacre upper room the youthful Alexander Jolly, afterwards well known as the saintly bishop of Moray, was present, to his great joy; and to him Skinner, whom Sunday duties had prevented from attending, wrote of his happiness in having "a son assisting in sending a Bishop to that very country to which the execution of my office has for these thirty years past exposed me to the risk of being

[**] In 1713, and again in 1716, Bishops Campbell and Gadderar had assisted Bishop Hickes to consecrate nonjuring Bishops in London, and in 1725 Bishop Doughty was consecrated in Edinburgh by four Scottish Bishops. *S. C. R.*, p. 592.

THE LONGACRE, ABERDEEN, 1884
[From the Seabury Centenary Report]

banished as a felon! What may I not live to see after this?" [67]

In the year 1788 two events happened which paved the way for the emancipation of the Church from the penal laws. Prince Charles Edward died, and Bishop Skinner became Primus. The diocese of Aberdeen in a synodical meeting held at Longside resolved to pray for King George, and soon practically the whole Church had followed their lead. In the subsequent labours for the repeal of the penal laws which occupied the next four years, the Primus was the leading figure, but "the letters of the period quite bear out the statement that the energetic Bishop received most effective help from his equally energetic father." [68] At last, in 1792, after many disappointments and delays, the days of legal oppression were over for the Disestablished Church.[69]

To enumerate or describe the numerous writings, controversial, theological, historical and otherwise, which the parson of Longside produced during his long life, would be impossible in the space at our disposal. Suffice it to say that his pen was ever at his Church's service, whether for her defence or her edification. As time went on, indeed, he so impressed his views and speculations upon the Northern Church, that, to quote his biog-

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 597. [68] Walker, p. 132.

[69] Not till 1864, however, were the last of the penal disabilities removed.

rapher, "at last in the north eastern districts there was hardly a clergyman that did not think his thoughts, and speak his language. No Bishop had nearly the same influence on opinion. Not one of them, indeed, combined in the same degree the chief elements of moral influence,—learning, ability, force of character, and *opportunity*."[70] As a teacher of candidates for Holy Orders, Skinner rendered the Church most valuable service. Most of the clergy of the diocese of Aberdeen towards the end of the eighteenth century were, according to his grandson, trained by him.[71] As Dean of the diocese from at least 1789 onwards he wielded an ecclesiastical influence only second to that of his son.[72] And, as we have seen, his influence on the views and activities of that son was of a very extensive character.

Despite his great gifts as a writer, Skinner's literary acquaintances were comparatively few. One conspicuous exception was the poet Robert Burns, with whom, although the two bards never met, he conducted a cordial and interesting correspondence. Burns had a very high opinion of Skinner's poetical work, and indeed induced him to contribute several songs to *Johnson's Museum*, a musical publication in which he was interested. Another literary acquaintance was John Ramsay

[70] Walker, p. 153.
[71] *Annals of Scottish Episcopacy*, p. 468.
[72] Walker, p. 156.

of Ochtertyre, the friend of Scott, and the patron of Burns, as well as one of the characters from whom the famous Antiquary, Jonathan Oldbuck, was drawn. Ramsay has left behind him a most interesting picture of Skinner and his surroundings about the years 1792 and 1795, at which dates he visited Linshart.[78]

Skinner's home had little charm for the Southern visitor, being "an ugly place in an ugly country," bare and barren of trees, with a"black and stagnated" burn passing the door. The house, one story high, looked mean for its inhabitant. Its furniture was plain and primitive, and peat burned on the hearth, there being no chimney in the house. Skinner, despite his seventy years, and the fact that he had recently been ill, looked like a man of fifty. His figure was "portly and pleasing," his appearance was fresh, and his hair was coal-black, except for two grey tufts on his cheeks. The "originality and brilliancy" of his conversation, coupled with his "courtesy and cordiality" as a host, more than made up for the plainness of his surroundings. "I had sometimes been in the company of men of first-rate wit and genius, but never saw one whose social hour was more truly delightful and instructive." Indeed Burns the poet, whom Ramsay had entertained in 1787, was the one who came nearest to him "in those unpre-

[78] *Scotland, etc.*, I, p. 536 etc.

meditated flashes of wit and sentiment, the impulse of the moment, which bespeak a heart pregnant with celestial fire."

In the course of his second visit Ramsay, Presbyterian as he was, attended Sunday service at Longside. He was struck with the "strongly marked faces" of the people, which betokened both sense and sharpness, and a serious frame of mind. Bonnets and parti-coloured plaids were well in evidence, and the dress of the congregation seemed very old fashioned. He was surprised when the service began with a psalm "taken from the Assembly's version," and the precentor's tone and style of singing made him fancy himself in a Presbyterian Church, till the reading of the Liturgy dispelled his illusion. Skinner's sermon, "pious, rational and impressive, calculated to edify peasants and philosophers," was conversational in delivery, and to his Southron hearer, its length (about forty minutes) and its "want of papers" seemed equally extraordinary in an Episcopal Chapel.

In the year 1789 Skinner received the freedom of the city of old Aberdeen, where his imprisonment had taken place thirty-six years earlier, and it was in Aberdeen that his life closed. He had lost the wedded partner of the joys and sorrows of fifty-eight years in 1799, and the bereavement was a sore and trying one, from which he never recovered. At last, in the spring of 1807 he agreed, at

SEABURY MEMORIAL TABLET
Aberdeen University

the invitation of his son the Bishop, to leave Longside in the charge of his grandson and assistant, the Rev. John Cumming, and spend the rest of his days in Aberdeen. His life however was very near its close. Arriving at his son's house on June 4th, he suddenly passed away in the Bishop's arms on the 16th, and his long and faithful service of the Church militant was over. It was a service indeed which brought him little earthly reward except the joy of performance, but its record is worthy of an imperishable place in the annals of the Church which he loved so well.

VII—MODERN TIMES

JOHN DOWDEN
BISHOP OF EDINBURGH

(Born 1840—Died 1910)

The modern spirit of change, which we see in these days operating so powerfully on every side, has done very much to alter the aspect of religious life in Scotland. Old customs, old prejudices and points of view have been, or are being, silently broken up by powerful solvents, while new knowledge and new thought have come pouring in like a mighty flood. Not only is this true of the general religious sentiment and standpoint throughout the land, but most of the religious communities in it have likewise undergone a definite transformation. Certainly those old antagonists, Presbytery and Episcopacy, have altered almost beyond belief. If the former,[1] with its organs and not infrequent liturgic services, its use of ecclesiastical titles which do not suggest the parity of its presbyters, its chancels, painted windows and even church statuary, its dislike of the Westminster Confes-

[1] This refers mainly to Presbyterianism as established. The "Wee Frees" still seek to walk in the old paths.

JOHN DOWDEN, D.D.
Late Bishop of Edinburgh

sion, and other departures from old standards, would with difficulty be recognised, and with still greater difficulty be acknowledged by the heroes of the Solemn League and Covenant, it is not to be forgotten that the changes in the outward and the inward life of Scottish Episcopacy have also been very great. It also has been moulded and developed amidst the play of modern influences.

In the early part of the nineteenth century the adherents of Episcopal principles were still diminishing in number. The deadly effect of the penal laws remained long after their removal, and to men of faith and piety like Bishop Jolly, all that seemed possible was to keep the dying embers of the Church as long alight as possible. As the old clergy in the remote country districts and in the Highlands died out, whole congregations were lost owing to the impossibility of finding fresh pastors. In these cases the old people remained as a rule staunch to the principles in which they had been trained, and kept aloof from Presbyterian ordinances. Their children, however, were less likely to maintain this attitude, and when the disruption of 1843 came, many of them are said to have joined the Free Church. Indeed, it is said that the "Wee Frees" in some Highland districts today are largely descended from those shepherdless Episcopalians, who were caught in the extraordinary wave of spiritual feeling which pervaded Scotland at that crisis, and who doubtless also

counted it to their credit to share in a great popular movement against the establishment which their fathers would have none of.

It is difficult to say exactly when this dwindling process came to an end, but the Oxford movement of 1833 produced a great and stimulating effect upon the "Catholic remnant" in Scotland. The English Tractarian leaders were strongly drawn towards the Scottish Church, with its freedom from State control and its high ideals of primitive truth and Apostolic order. In Scotland too the teaching of Newman, Pusey and Keble fell upon many places like seed upon prepared soil. It is true indeed, that certain aspects of that teaching evoked no less opposition in some quarters than enthusiastic assent in others. The Eucharistic Controversy of 1857-60 seemed at one time likely to shake the little Church to its foundations. A presbyter, the Rev. Patrick Cheyne of Aberdeen, was suspended from his sacred functions for the teaching contained in his *Six Sermons on the Most Holy Eucharist,* while the good Bishop A. P. Forbes of Brechin was censured and admonished by his brother Bishops for a similar reason.

Other important influences upon the membership of the Church were the gradual reconciling of the "qualified" chapels, with their English or anti-Jacobite congregations, and the increased facilities for communication and travel, which have added so many English and Irish residents to the

population of Scotland. To this latter circumstance, as well as to the use of a Prayer Book which bears on its title-page the legend, *According to the use of the Church of England,* is to be ascribed the fact that the old Disestablished Kirk of Scotland is so commonly but so wrongly called "The English Church." Hence also the ready credence to the frequent charge, made by those who ought to know better, that Scottish Episcopacy is an alien on Scottish soil, an exotic plant from England. Hard words, however, do not hurt like penal laws, and in time, doubtless, historic truth will prevail.

It is of course undeniable that one of the prominent features in the nineteenth century development of the Scottish Episcopal Church has been its closer approximation to the Church of England. This process has been going on since the repeal of the penal laws, one of the conditions of which was the acceptance of the *Thirty-nine Articles of Religion* by the Scottish Church. This acceptance was not consummated till 1804, when the convocation of Laurencekirk accepted the English formulary without qualification. Another step was taken in 1811, when, mainly through the influence of the learned Bishop Gleig, it was enacted that the words of the English liturgy should be strictly adhered to at Morning and Evening Prayer, and that the use of the surplice should be introduced with prudence and discre-

tion. Again in 1864 the removal by Parliament of the disqualification of Scottish Clergy from officiating or holding a benefice in England, drew the two Churches much more closely together.

It is not easy to realise, in these days of seemly Churches, surpliced choirs, and musical services, how great the difference is between the state of things ecclesiastical in the first half of the nineteenth century, and that of the second half. So late as 1830-8 all the six Bishops of the church belonged to the North East, and three of them lived within the diocese of Aberdeen. Up to that time everything indigenously Episcopal in Scotland bore the Aberdeen hall-mark. And in that diocese the Churches were very plain and humble buildings. Chancels were unknown, and the three-decker or two-decker was an imposing feature of the interior. Till the year 1819 the only vestment used was the black gown, with a black stole or scarf, and white linen bands. After the synod of that year the surplice was used by all the clergy in the diocese, but the black gown and bands continued to be generally used in the pulpit until well into the second half of the century. The services were very plain, the psalms being always read. The Holy Communion was usually celebrated four or five times a year until about the sixties, when monthly celebrations began to be introduced. The Scottish Communion Office was of course the diocesan "use," and to this day there

are congregations in the diocese where the English Office has never been heard.[1]

The figure chosen to illustrate the latest period of the Church's development, is that of one who was by birth neither a Scotsman nor an Episcopalian. John Dowden was an unmistakable Irishman, with his delicate appreciation of art and literature, his keen sense of humour, and, let it not be denied, his thorough joy in a good fight. And yet no one could have understood and loved the Scottish Church more than he did. His knowledge of her true ideals, and his sympathy with her real needs rendered his services of particular value, and today the impress of his influence is visible upon her life in many directions. Our improved service book and the widely extended use of the Scottish Communion Office are largely due to his efforts. His wide and accurate scholarship, and the valuable works which he produced in the spheres of history and liturgiology, have not only brought credit to the Church of which he was an ornament, but have also stimulated and guided study within it, and raised the standard of knowledge in these departments. And the effect of his powerful and winning personality upon those who knew him well, especially upon his theological stu-

[1] See Walker: *Reminiscenses Academical and Ecclesiastical*, Chap. XII.

dents now in the ministry, is one that time will not readily efface.

The future Bishop of Edinburgh was born in the old and historic city of Cork on St. Peter's Day, 1840. His father, John Wheeler Dowden, was a man of remarkable character and ability. Closely engaged in business as he was, he found time both to keep himself abreast with the march of modern thought, and to attend to the wants of his poorer neighbours. "The most unselfish man I ever met," "one of the best and wisest men I ever knew," these are two tributes to his character, the first by his son, the second by the late Dr. Salmon, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin. Mrs. Dowden whose wise and loving care was an important factor in the boy's early training, was at one with her husband in a lifelong generosity which many a poor inhabitant of Cork had abundant reason to bless. While her husband was a staunch Presbyterian, she was a devoted member of the Church of Ireland. Thus it came about that John learnt both the Shorter Catechism and the Church Catechism, and that on Sundays he would attend the Presbyterian service in the morning, and go with his mother to that of the Church of Ireland in the evening.

The lad's early education was imparted in Cork, partly at school, and partly by private tutors. At the age of sixteen he entered Queen's College, Cork, with the intention of becoming a

medical man. Of his studies we know little, except that he gained a scholarship both in his first and in his second year. Among his teachers was Bunnell Lewis, Professor of Latin, a keen antiquarian and a lover of books, who may have given a bent to Dowden's mind. To the class in general it was amusing to watch the reverence and care with which the Professor would handle some dingy old tome, but not so to the future Vice President of the Scottish Society of Antiquaries and the ardent book collector of later days, well known among the bookshops and stalls of Edinburgh.

About this time John and his brother Edward, afterwards Professor of English Literature in Dublin University, paid their first visit to Scotland, in the course of which they came to the Scottish Capital. Of his sojourn in the scene of his future Episcopate the Bishop used to recall two events, his purchase of an old book in Mr. Thin's well-known shop, and his sitting upon the steps of a city Church pulpit to listen to a sermon preached by the famous Dr. Guthrie to a crowded congregation.

The studies at Queen's College were interrupted by ill-health, which continued to hamper young Dowden during his University career, and indeed during the rest of his sojourn in Ireland. His views as to a career also became modified, and the ministry of the Church of Ireland began to seem more attractive than the medical profession. His

father with characteristic promptitude and open-mindedness resolved to send him to Trinity College, Dublin, of which he became an undergraduate in October, 1858.

One of the most notable of the fellows of Trinity at that time was George Salmon, a relation of the young entrant. Dr. Salmon had not as yet begun his brilliant and remarkable career as a theologian, nor had the disestablishment of the Irish Church arrived, to evoke his gifts as a financier and a practical adviser whose "strong common sense amounted at times to genius." Yet he had achieved an European reputation as a master in the realm of pure mathematics, and the life of the University was enriched by the presence of his splendid intellect, wedded as it was to a nature lovable and simple, even to quaintness. John Dowden came at once under the spell of his attraction, and there is no doubt that Salmon's personality was a powerful factor in the formation of the younger man's character. A close and affectionate friendship sprang up between the two, and continued until the Provost's death in 1904.

Unlike as they were in many respects, there was much in common between the Bishop's character, as known in later life, and that of his distinguished relative. In both there was a supreme determination, which regarded neither time nor trouble, to get at real facts, and a corresponding hatred of shams and evasions. In both could be discerned

a touching humility, and a wide human sympathy. The man of business who dropped into the Bishop's study in Edinburgh would remark upon the kind courtesy and the simple readiness of the scholar to listen and learn, just as the Dublin student did when he consulted the Divinity Professor. And if a warm heart and a turn for humour are not uncommon Irish qualities, in both these men was a self-restraint which checked their too exuberant expression. "I always fear," writes the younger to the elder, "seeming enthusiastical before you, and cut myself down to what I think the level of extraordinary common-sense."

Dowden's University life was marked by hard study and exceptionally wide reading, but his chance of obtaining a brilliant degree was marred by frequent ill-health and bodily weakness. Athletics were beyond his range, and the amiable frivolities of student life had little attraction for him. A ramble with a kindred spirit round Howth or Donnybrook, or in summer a swim at Kingstown afforded the exercise which he needed. His intense love of music found gratification in the services of the College Chapel, and in attendance at concerts and oratorios where famous musicians might be heard. The rooms which he and his brother Edward shared at No. 17 Trinity College became the resort of brainy men. "No drinking or cardplaying", we are told by a contemporary, was to be found there. Dowden's chief delight

was to discuss those everlasting metaphysical and theological questions which present themselves to the growing minds of young men at Universities everywhere. Of his spiritual life at this time much might be said, but it seems better to imitate his own reticence on such a subject. His diaries reveal simple and deep religious convictions, a high ideal of the Christian life, and a sincere effort to reach it. To cultivate truth in the inward parts was his great desire. His prayer on New Year's Day, 1862, was for "a greater truthfulness of heart, a greater respect for the truth in everyday conversation." "Let me feel," he says on another occasion, "that I have gone some way to cultivating a truthful habit, before I go seeking after the truth."

In 1861 Dowden graduated B.A. with first class honours in Logic and Ethics, gaining at the same time the second senior moderatorship, with a gold medal. He now decided to join the Divinity Class, much to his father's delight, and he was confirmed by Archbishop Whately in 1862. The theological atmosphere was electrical during this period, and for a time Dowden, like several of his fellows, came under its influence. He wavered as to whether he could subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles and the Prayer Book, especially the Athanasian Creed, but eventually the trouble passed. On the 17th July, 1864, he was ordained deacon at Kilmore Cathedral by Bishop Verschoyle, to the

curacy of St. John's, Sligo. In the following September he was wedded to Miss Louisa Jones, a lady whom he had first met in Cork, and with whom renewed acquaintance in Dublin had ripened into love.

The years which were now spent in Sligo and its suburb Calry[3] were very important in the development of the young cleric's character. His parochial labours were constant and trying, and although he was sometimes oppressed with a sense of unfitness, there is no doubt that his work met with success. His intellectual gifts were doubtless more fitted for an educated city congregation than for the mental environment of a provincial town, and the impression that he was "a High Churchman" did not tend to help matters. Yet when he left Sligo his old rector, the Rev. Edward Day, testified that he had won the respect and esteem not only of his own parishioners, but of the inhabitants of the town, of all ranks and classes.

Yet the gifts which Dowden had for the service of the Church and its Master were preëminently those of a scholar, and all through the Sligo period we find him hard at work in his study. The enthusiasm for metaphysics[4] which had up till now

[3] Dowden became perpetual curate of Calry in 1867.

[4] His first published work was entitled *Observations on Some Aids to Personal Religion Afforded by Mental Science*, delivered as the Presidential lecture to the University Theological Society in 1862.

determined his bent, began to give place to a taste for liturgical investigation, and he started also to lay more securely the foundations of his knowledge of theology. Nor was he insensible to the historical and antiquarian associations of the country around Sligo, as his history of the *Celtic Church in Scotland*[1] afterwards shewed. In 1866 he became a contributor of reviews to the newly started *Contemporary Review,* of which Dean Alford was editor, and three years later his first article in that periodical appeared, on Arthur Hugh Clough. Dowden's literary interests were kept in full activity by constant correspondence with his brother about men and books, and by interchange of sonnets and other poems. As secretary of the Sligo Choral union he formed an acquaintance which had a great influence on his future career. The conductor of the society was the Rev. W. Percy Robinson, then head of the diocesan school in Sligo, and afterwards Warden of Glenalmond College in Scotland, and it was by no mere coincidence that Dowden a few years later became head of the Theological Department of the same institution of the Scottish Church.

Dowden was still in Sligo at the time of the disestablishment of the Church of Ireland, and when the resultant movement for the revision of the Irish Prayer Book began, he was already a

[1] See pp. 94, 95.

serious liturgical student. He contributed an article in 1871 to the *Contemporary Review*[*] on *Literary Aspects of Prayerbook revision,* which attracted considerable attention in England and Ireland. His desire was that doctrinal questions should be avoided, and that only changes of a literary kind should be undertaken. The following characteristic passage may be quoted, as illustrating the spirit in which all his own work was done:

> "May it be granted to those who in the Irish Church have been appointed to this most responsible task to feel that nothing is light or trivial in the work before them—that the heading of a collect, the alteration of a letter, the shifting of a comma, is each a work to be done in the Name, and to the Glory of God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

Dr. Littledale, the well-known liturgical scholar, recognising "the hand of one who knows what he is writing about," entered into correspondence with the author, and Dr. Salmon, the originator of the Prayer Book Revision Committee, invited him to send suggestions for reform. "If you will spoonfeed me," he wrote, "I will spoonfeed their Lordships, and perhaps some few grains may get down." Nothing loth Dowden set to work and furnished a considerable number of suggestions on

[*] In December 1872 an article on *The American Prayer Book* from his pen appeared in the same publication.

the lines of his article. The temper of the revisionists, however, was set in other directions than that of mere literary improvements, and as far as Ireland was concerned the Sligo curate's liturgical labours had no effect. Yet in the year 1911 his work was quoted by one well qualified to judge as "a precious mine of information and suggestion" for the revision of the English Prayer Book.[1]

In 1870 there came an appointment as chaplain to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Spencer, which entailed an occasional preaching visit to the Chapel Royal in Dublin, and two years later Dowden removed to that city as one of the curates of St. Stephen's Church under his old Divinity lecturer, Archdeacon Lee. The congregation of St. Stephen's was a highly cultivated one, and Dowden's ministrations were much appreciated there. His sojourn of less than two years in the capital city was, however, anything but a monotonous one. Feeling was running high in Dublin over Prayer Book revision and ritualism, and Dowden threw himself into the fray with much zest. He published a sermon on *The Saints in the Calendar and the Irish Synod,* attacking with much vigour the proposal to remove the names of the black-letter Saints from the Irish calendar, as "thoroughly and vulgarly provincial," and he came into conflict with St. Stephen's congregation

[1] Frere. *Some principles of Liturgical reform,* p. viii.

by refusing, at Archdeacon Lee's request, to use the revised lectionary that was issued by the Irish General Synod in 1873. Although in the end he gave way on this latter point, it is unlikely that his further contributions to the difficult ecclesiastical situation would have been of a soothing character. When therefore on the 7th of May, 1874, Bishop Forbes of Brechin wrote offering him in the name of the Scottish Bishops the post of Pantonian Professor of Theology at Glenalmond, together with the Bell Lecturership on Education, it was probably with a sense of relief that he grasped the opportunity of escape from the turmoil of Irish Church affairs. His old colleague in the Sligo Choral Society, the Rev. Percy Robinson, had recommended Dowden to the Bishops as a man of learning and ability, and thus in September he entered upon his thirty-six years of service in the Scottish Episcopal Church.

It was not as a complete stranger that Professor Dowden came to his new sphere of work. His visit to Scotland as a youth had bred in his mind an interest in the notable men and affairs of the country, and his liturgical studies had made him familiar with the beauty of the Scottish Communion Office. He had besides been a contributor to the *Scottish Guardian,* the weekly organ of the Episcopal Church. Yet he could hardly have realized how interesting and important was the

juncture at which he threw in his lot with Scottish Episcopacy.

In the early seventies of last century this Church was entering upon a stage of rich and varied development which is still continuous. The death in 1872 of the genial and famous Dean Ramsay seems, as we look backward, to mark the passing away of an old order of things. The final removal in 1864 of the legal disabilities which remained after the penal laws were repealed, had lifted from the minds of Scottish Episcopalians the weight which a sense of injustice and oppression always produces. A spirit of healthy enterprise soon made itself felt. The development of the modern cathedral system[*] in Scotland received a new impetus, and more important still, a new democratic movement in the Church was felt, which resulted in the gradual widening of the powers of the laity in Church affairs. The chief stages of this movement have been the formation of the Representative Church Council in 1876 for the management of finance, and that of the Consultative Committee on Church Legislation in 1905. The first of these bodies is composed equally of clergy and laity, and the existence of the second ensures that before any fresh legislation can be passed by the Provincial Synod, the laity shall be informed of what is proposed, and shall

[*] See Appendix F on *The Modern Scottish Cathedrals.*

have ample opportunity of expressing the lay mind on the subject, whatever it may be.

At this time too did the Church begin, late enough in the day, to awaken to a keener sense of her missionary duty in the evangelization of the world. Definite responsibilities were undertaken at Chanda, in the Central Provinces of India, and in the diocese of Kaffraria in South Africa. Dr. Callaway, the first Bishop of Kaffraria, was consecrated in St. Paul's Church, Edinburgh in 1873. And in answer, it would seem, to the Church's awakening sense of responsibility came the noble legacy of the Misses Walker, by which a sum of nearly a quarter of a million pounds was left in trust for the benefit of the Church. The fine Cathedral of St. Mary in Edinburgh stands as the most conspicuous result of this benefaction, but its general beneficent effect upon a poor and struggling Communion is equally visible to all who have eyes to see.

Thus it was given to Mr. Dowden to witness and to bear his share in a notable work of Church expansion and consolidation. Insignificant in point of numbers as the Church was and is, when we consider the whole population of Scotland, yet her relative growth has been striking. The 60,000 souls which she shepherded in 1873 * had

* The *Church Society Report* for this year gives figures which amount to 55,000, but there are some gaps in the lists.

grown to 140,000 by the time of Bishop Dowden's death. Her 202 Churches had become in the same period 388, and her 202 clergy about 332. And whereas in 1872-3 the total givings through the Church society amounted to £6792, over £23,000 was contributed in 1909 to the funds of the Representative Church Council. Small enough these figures seem alongside of the great things which are being achieved around us in Scotland, yet to us at least they are a sign of God's blessing on our handiwork, and a cheering promise for the years to come.

Trinity College, Glenalmond, was opened in 1847, chiefly through the exertions of the late Mr. W. E. Gladstone and his friend Mr. James Hope. Beautifully situated on the wooded bank of the Almond, and surrounded by the Perthshire hills, it was designed so as to combine the features of a public school and of a theological seminary. It was hoped thus to increase the influence of the Church's theological college, which had existed in Edinburgh since 1824 and was now transferred to its new abode, and to foster in the school a sense of vocation for the ministry. But the experiment had not succeeded, associated though it was with the names of men like Wordsworth, Barry, Bright, Hannah, and Browne. Candidates for the ministry were not attracted in the hoped-for numbers, and those who came did not always get on well with the school boys. The appointment of

Dowden was part of an effort by the Scottish Bishops to infuse new life into the theological department, although all unconsciously they were introducing into the situation the strong man who was to cut the difficult knot, and be the chief agent in restoring the theological college to Edinburgh.

On arriving at Glenalmond the new Professor found to his disappointment that his class was to consist of one solitary student. In after days he used to joke about his "one ewe lamb," who in due course departed from Trinity College to be ordained, leaving the Professor for a time without anyone to instruct. Yet it was with a sense of dissipated energy that he strove single-handed, then and afterwards, to impart instruction in all the branches of theology. "My style and dignity," he once said to an eminent professor of the Free Church, "is that of Pantonian[10] Professor, so called from the Greek *πάντων* because I am Professor of all things."

However, fresh students began to appear, and the quiet academic life offered opportunities for study which were entirely congenial to Dowden. In particular he devoted himself to the study of the Scotch Communion Office, the knowledge and appreciation of which he was in after days to do so much to spread. His duties as Bell Lecturer on Education also brought him into touch with the

[10] The endowment of the professorship was left by Miss Katherine Panton, an Aberdeenshire Churchwoman, in 1823.

Church in Edinburgh, where he delivered lectures. At the end of about twelve months a serious fire occurred which caused the theological department to be removed to Edinburgh. This was decided upon only as a temporary expedient, but Dowden now raised the question whether it would not be better that the college should remain in the capital. Besides the arguments which he advanced as to the benefits of life in a University city, access to modern libraries, and the possibility of increasing the teaching staff, he added an unanswerable one, culled from the Panton trust deed, which required the Theological Professor to deliver his lectures in *Edinburgh*. "The College," he said, "may return to Glenalmond, but the Pantonian Professor remains here!" After a good deal of hot controversy Dowden was allowed to have his way. The students received instruction in various places in Edinburgh for several years, but the College is now housed permanently and well at Coates Hall in Rosebery Crescent. The existence of this fine pile of buildings, with its full complement of students in residence, and a fairly adequate staff of teachers, is the best possible proof of the wisdom of the stand which Dowden made against returning to Glenalmond.

In his work as a teacher, Dr. Dowden's[11] personality counted for more than anything else. His

[11] He became D.D. of Dublin in 1876, and received the degree of LL.D. from Edinburgh University in 1904.

lectures were apt to be discursive, and his methods were not those of the crammer. To the average student too his insistence upon exactness in minutiae was felt to be something of a trial at examination times. But the sight of the alert figure moving about the lecture room, the keen face afire, the eager hands pulling down from the shelves a volume here and another there, in order that the students might look at original authorities, was itself a stimulus and an inspiration. "Verify your references" was a maxim continually upon his lips. Slovenly and inaccurate work was his despair. But when he found that he had struck fire in any member of his class his joy was great. No trouble was too great to take when a willing student wanted guidance. And no one could have been more sympathetic or patient when help was sought in intellectual or other difficulties. The following extract from a letter to a student will illustrate this, and also shew his opinions upon a still controverted subject, the use of the Athanasian Creed.

"The point to remember about the Athanasian Creed is that it is not unbelief or infidelity, however extreme, that is aimed at, but *apostasy*,—which means an immoral surrender of the faith, such as were too common among the orthodox during the Vandal persecutions of the first half of the fifth century in the south of France, Spain, and North Africa.

"The Vandals were Arians from the date of their conversion to Christianity; and used bribery, persecution of minor kinds, and the sword to persuade the Catholics to renounce the faith in which they had been brought up. The case before the mind of Hilary (or whoever it was that wrote the Athanasian Psalm *Quicunque Vult*) was not that of a man really, *i. e.* conscientiously convinced by processes of reasoning that the Catholic Faith was untrue, but that of a man who, for a morsel of bread, or, if you will, for life itself would profess the new faith of the conquering barbarians. I cannot in a short letter shew you that such were in all probability the historical conditions under which the Creed (or rather battle-song to brace the courage of the faint-hearted) was written. But, if you will assume that this is the case, it will lessen the difficulty of accepting the Creed: though it leaves perfectly open the question whether it is desirable that a document so liable to be misunderstood should be retained in the Prayerbook.

"There *is* such a sin as denying Christ, and there *is* a punishment attached to it—the being denied by Christ before His Father—'I know you not, depart from Me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire,' etc. The *Quicunque Vult,* I suppose, means neither more or less than *this,* whatever the latter really means."

Nor did his interest in his students cease

when they left College to enter the ministry of the Church. It was a sight worth seeing at meetings of the Representative Council to watch his intentness when one of his old pupils rose to speak. However dull and bored he looked before, he would now waken up and listen as if some most wise and important person were speaking. On occasion he would even rise himself to supplement or enforce the arguments, perhaps imperfectly advanced, of such an one. And so it was in many other important directions. Thirty years ago the Scottish Episcopal Church was suffering from a bad attack of gentility. For all important appointments, almost without exception, it was the rule to choose men of English birth and training, while to the Scottish clergy, trained in the Church's own institution, the lot of hewers of wood and drawers of water—to use Dr. Dowden's indignant phrase—was usually all that was offered. Irishman though he was, Dowden made it part of his life's work to remedy this state of matters, and the great change which of recent years has taken place in this respect is in the main to be ascribed to him.

In the year 1884 came the publication of the book which first brought Dr. Dowden's gifts as a liturgical scholar into wide prominence. *The Annotated Scottish Communion Office*, containing as it did an historical treatment of the American Office, and dedicated as it was to the American Bish-

ops,[12] was naturally received with great interest in the Church of America. At home this, the standard work on the subject, marked a new epoch in the history of the Scottish Office. It turned the tide of opinion which for long had been setting in the direction of depreciation, into the opposite direction of ever rising appreciation. Since 1884 the intrinsic merits of the national liturgy have become more widely and intelligently recognised than they were before, even among Scottish Church people accustomed to its use.

Two years later the see of Edinburgh became vacant through the death of Bishop Cotterill, and Canon Dowden's name was brought forward in connection with the election of a successor. Learning, however, that Canon Liddon was also to be proposed, Dowden refused to allow himself to be voted on. Liddon, however, declined the offer, and the Pantonian Professor was then elected. Among the warmest letters of congratulation which reached him were those from several Bishops and other friends in America. He was consecrated on the 21st of September, 1866, by the six other Scottish Bishops and Bishop Lightfoot of Durham. The

[12] "To the Bishops of the Church of Christ in America, whose succession may be traced through Samuel Seabury, consecrated by Scottish Bishops at Aberdeen, fourteenth November, seventeen hundred and eighty-four, this account of the Eucharistic Office Books of the Scottish and American Churches, is with profound respect dedicated by a presbyter of the Scottish Church."

sermon was preached by the new Bishop's old friend, Dr. Salmon of Trinity College, Dublin.

Dr. Dowden's Episcopate may be divided into two stages, the earlier in which the bent of his mind was mainly ecclesiastical, the later in which the prominent characteristics were rather those of the student. At first he incurred a good deal of odium among the general public of Edinburgh by the strict line which he took with regard to Anglican ecclesiastics appearing officially in Presbyterian churches in the city. His adoption of the signature "J. Edenburgen" also gave great offence to the many Edinburgh citizens who were unfriendly to prelacy. A fierce newspaper campaign ensued, which the Bishop treated with calmness and dignity. The most extraordinary accusations were made, only to be quietly and effectively replied to, and eventually the controversy died down. As time went on Dr. Dowden's principles were better understood, and at the same time his eminence as a scholar made itself growingly felt in the community. The contrast is indeed a striking one, between his early unpopularity in Edinburgh, and the kindly feeling with which he was later on regarded as a distinguished citizen of the Scottish metropolis.

It would be beside the purpose of this lecture to give more than an outline of Bishop Dowden's scholarly activities. He was one of the founders

of the Scottish History Society, which under the presidency of Lord Rosebery has published an important series of historical works and still continues to issue its publications. The first meeting of the society was held in the Theological College, Rosebery Crescent, and three of its volumes[13] were edited, partly or entirely, by Dowden. He was an enthusiastic member of the Scottish Ecclesiological Society, and served a term as its president. He was also a vice-president of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, and contributed to its publications from time to time. In 1901 he was selected to deliver the Rhind lectures in connection with this society, and took as his subject *The Constitution, Organization, and Law of the Mediaeval Church in Scotland.* These lectures were afterwards amplified, and were published soon after his death.[14] Marked by all the author's characteristic accuracy and width of knowledge, this work is of the highest value, and is indeed indispensable to students of the period.

An earlier historical publication on *The Celtic Church in Scotland,*[15] still enjoys popularity as a compact and reliable summary of the known facts,

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[13] *The Correspondence of the Lauderdale Family with Archbishop Sharp,* 1893. *The Chartulary of the Abbey of Lindores* 1903, and *The Charters of Inchaffray Abbey* 1908. Of this last Dr. J. Maitland Thomson was co-editor.

[14] Glasgow. 1910. *The Mediaeval Church in Scotland.*

[15] S. P. C. K., London, 1894.

written with great freshness and charm of style. Another posthumous publication, *The Bishops of Scotland,*[16] was written to supplement Bishop Keith's *Catalogue,* and illustrates the extraordinary pains and diligence with which Bishop Dowden sought to ascertain his dates and other facts from musty documents in the Register House and elsewhere. His modest claim is well justified for all who use the book. "In researches covering so great a field it can hardly be expected that no errors will have crept in. But it is confidently alleged that the following lists are much superior to any which have preceded them." [17]

In the region of liturgical study Dr. Dowden was an acknowledged authority. In 1899 he published *The Workmanship of the Prayer Book,* in which the literary character of the work done by the Reformers and subsequent revisers was reviewed, and suggestions were offered in the direction of further revisal. This was followed in 1908 by *Further Studies in the Prayer Book,* in which, among other features, special attention was paid to the influence of German Service-Books on the English forms of service. But it was in connection with the revised Scottish Liturgy of 1912, and the revision of the English Prayer Book for use in Scotland,[18] that the Bishop's liturgical gifts found their most practical scope.

[16] Glasgow 1912. [17] p. xi.

[18] *The Book of Common Prayer,* etc. . . . *and the Scot-*

Although the Scottish Church does not yet possess what can be fairly called a Scottish Prayer Book, she now has at least a Scottish Edition of the English Book. And although Dr. Dowden died two years before this was published, its existence was due in the main to his enthusiasm and his knowledge. From 1894 till 1902 a committee of the Edinburgh diocesan Synod was working, in collaboration with committes of the other dioceses, at a Revision of the Canons, which involved a number of suggested reforms of the Prayer Book. Again in the year 1906 a private committee of diocesan clergy was appointed by Dr. Dowden to consider with him more fully the revision of the Prayer Book. The suggestions of this body formed the bulk of the permissive additions and deviations which were eventually approved of by the Provincial Council. Needless to say the main inspiring and guiding influence in the whole movement came from the Bishop of Edinburgh, whose moderation in aim, exhaustive knowledge, and refined delicacy of touch ensured for the revision a favourable reception throughout the Church. In the additional prayers for various occasions his hand may be easily traced. He possessed the rare gift of composing a good collect, and some of his prayers are

tish Liturgy, and the permissible additions to and deviations from the service books of the Scottish Church, as canonically sanctioned. Edinburgh. 1912.

of great beauty. Several of the collects inserted in the revised Prayer Book had been in use in the Edinburgh diocese for years previously.

As a theologian Dr. Dowden was strongest on the historical side. His chief publication in this department was his *Outlines of the history of the Theological Literature of the Church of England from the reformation to the close of the eighteenth century.*[19] These were delivered in America as the Bishop Paddock Lectures, and they are dedicated to the Dean, Professors, and Students of the General Theological Seminary, New York. Dr. Dowden had a warm interest in the sister Church of America, and he was a close student of its Prayer Book. As may easily be imagined, therefore, his visit to America in order to deliver these lectures was to him full of interest and enjoyment. The impressions which he brought back of men and of cities, especially of the unbounded hospitality and kindness which he met everywhere, were of the most vivid and happy description.

Time fails to speak of his knowledge of books and his love of literature and music. He was particularly fond of children, and among the learned tomes in his study it was possible on occasion to find books with pictures of the kind that appeal to little visitors. To the end of his life his mind was as alert as ever, and there seemed little or no dim-

[19] London. 1897.

inution of his bodily strength. At the Lambeth Conference of 1908, for instance, he took a telling part in several of the discussions, bringing to bear on various knotty points his keen intellect, and his incisive wit. He continued to lecture at the Theological College until a day or two before his death. The end came very suddenly and unexpectedly on the 30th of January, 1910. It seemed impossible to believe that a personality so alive and so powerful as his had so quickly passed away. And still the blank caused by his loss is to be felt. For he was in his day the Church's Scholar-Bishop, a wise and shrewd adviser, a far-seeing ruler, the most loyal of friends and the most chivalrous of opponents, a man of simple heart who strove to give of his best to the Church and the Church's Master.

APPENDIX A

Hymns Attributed to St. Columba

In Adamnan's *Life* we find a story of a book in Columba's handwriting, which contained hymns for weekly use, (*Hymnorum liber septimaniorum sanctae Columbae manu descriptus,* II, 8.), and from the same authority we learn that hymns were sung in the Church at Iona on the day that the Saint died. (*Hymnis matutinalibus terminatis.* III. 23.)

It would be too much to assume that these hymns were composed by Columba, but it is of great interest to find certain hymns and verses attributed to him in an eleventh century MS. collection of hymns and prayers in Latin and Irish, which were used in the worship of the early Celtic Church.

Whether this Irish *Liber Hymnorum* was a hymnbook for actual use, or whether it was a collection made by some Celtic antiquarian at the time when Celtic characteristics were disappearing, there is no doubt that its contents are very ancient. A part of these were published by Dr. J. H. Todd under the auspices of the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, while more recently the Henry

Bradshaw Society has made the whole book easily accessible in two of its volumes produced under the care of Dr. Bernard and Professor Atkinson.

Three of the Latin hymns, and one in Irish, along with various Irish verses, are attributed with varying degrees of confidence to the authorship of Columba. The most famous of the Latin hymns is the *Altus,* so called from its opening words:

> **"Altus Prosator Vetustus**
> **Dierum et ingenitus."**

A rendering of its twenty two stanzas of rude Latin, each beginning with a successive letter of the alphabet, is printed in Dowden's *Celtic Church in Scotland,* (p. 321) and, slightly amended, in Trenholme's *Story of Iona* (p 156.)

Below is printed a rendering of another hymn the attribution of which to Columba is perhaps less certain.

> **"In te Christe credentium miserearis omnium,**
> **tu es deus in saecula saeculorum in gloria."**

According to one of the legends, Columba wrote only the second half of the poem.

The version given below was sung at the Columba commemoration service held in Edinburgh Cathedral on 9th June, 1897, and also in Ireland in connection with a similar event.

The third Latin hymn begins thus:—

> **"Noli pater indulgere tonitrua cum fulgore,**
> **ac frangamur formidine hujus atque uridine,"**

while the Irish hymn sings the praises of St. Brigid.

IN TE CHRISTE CREDENTIUM

Christ, have pity on Thy servants,
For we put our trust in Thee.
Thou art God in glory reigning
Unto all eternity.
Stretch Thy mighty arm to help us,
Worn with labours, wearied sore,
Hasten Thee to our assistance,
Heal our anguish evermore.

Father of Thy trusting children,
Life of all our living hours,
Thou art God all gods excelling,
Power supreme above all powers.[1]
God, the Framer of creation,
Judge of judges, King of kings,
In whose praise the universe's
Elemental chorus rings.

Thine are all the costly treasures
Of Jerusalem on high:
Lord of life, and King of glory,
Light of light eternally.
Thee no words of man can utter.
Highest heaven holds Thy throne.
Yet beyond all price or pleasure
Thou art dear unto Thine own.

Christ, Redeemer of the nations,
Of Thy love the virgins sing;
Thou the Fountain art of wisdom,
Thou the Faith to which we cling.
Armour of Thy valiant soldiers,
By whose hand all things were made,
Christ, Salvation of the living,
Of the dying, Life indeed.

[1] *Virtus virtutum.* Probably the powers which the ancient Celts believed to reside in the sun, winds, rivers, etc.

He has crowned our conquering army,
And the band of martyrs brave,
Christ, who on the Cross was lifted,
Christ, who came the world to save.
Christ, who suffered to redeem us,
Vanquished hell, uprose to heaven;
Christ, to whom His ne'er relinquished
Seat at God's right hand was given.

Glory be to God the Father,
Uncreated, in the height;
Praise to Thee, the Sole-Begotten
Only Son, supreme in might.
To the Holy, Perfect Spirit,
Ever-gracious, honour be,
Amen, Amen never ending,
Rise through all eternity.

APPENDIX B

Date and Authorship of St. Margaret's *Life*

We can easily fix within a few years the period at which this work was written. It is dedicated to Matilda, Queen of the English, (*Prologue*) and her brother Edgar is described as reigning on his father's throne (Chap. 31). Now Matilda married Henry I. of England in 1100 and died in 1118, (Symeon, *Historia Regum* c. c. 182 and 195,), while Edgar's reign lasted from 1097 to 1107. Thus the *Life* must have been composed between the years 1100 and 1107, from seven to fourteen years after the death of Margaret in 1093.

This calculation is quite consistent with Turgot's authorship of the work, for he was elected Bishop of St. Andrews in 1107, and consecrated in 1109. The doubt on this point is caused by the evidence of the two manuscripts on the *Life* which still exist. One of them, which is now in the British Museum (Cotton, Tiberius, D. III), indicates the author as *T., Servorum Cuthberti servus,* while the other, which is printed in the *Acta Sanctorum,* inserts *Theodericus* for T. The author

[1] (*Codex Valcellensis, in Hannoniae Monasterio*).

was, therefore, a monk of Durham, but whether he was the Prior Turgot, or the monk Theoderic, whose name appears on the list of monks of Durham, it is not so easy to decide. One difficulty lies in the question, if the famous Prior was the author, why the attribution to a comparatively obscure monk? It is easier to explain how the converse might have taken place, and to suppose that Fordun and other early writers may have unwittingly given rise to an erroneous tradition.[1]

Dr. Dowden, however, claims that Turgot's authorship is accepted by "the almost universal concurrence of scholars",[2] while Professor Hume Brown says, "it seems almost certain that Turgot was the author of the book." (*History of Scotland Vol. I, p.* 62. *University Press, Camb.,* 1902.)

[1] See *Surtees Society Publications*, Vol. LI p. lvii.

[2] *Celtic Church in Scotland*, p. 271.

APPENDIX C

Lanfranc's Letter to Margaret

(Migne, *Patrologia Latina.* Vol. CL. p. 550.)

"Lanfranc, the unworthy Bishop of the holy Church of Canterbury, to Margaret the illustrious Queen of the Scots, peace and blessing.

"A short letter cannot reveal the greatness of the joy with which you flooded my heart through the perfect letter which, O queen beloved by God, you sent me. How pleasantly the words flow forth, which proceed from the inspiration of the Divine Spirit. For I believe that what you wrote was uttered not by you but for you. Verily by your mouth He spoke, who says to His disciples "learn from Me for I am meek and humble of heart." It is from this teaching of Christ that it has come about that you, the daughter of a royal line, royally reared, and nobly linked to a noble king, choose as your father me, a person of foreign birth, a common man without nobility, encompassed by sins, and pray that I should regard you as a spiritual daughter. I am not what you think, but may I be because you think it. That you may be no more mistaken, pray for me that I may be a father

worthy to pray to God and to be heard on your behalf. Let there be a mutual interchange between us of prayers and benefits. Few indeed I give, but I am sure that I shall receive many more. Henceforth therefore let me be your father, and be you my daughter.

"I send to your illustrious husband and to you, our well beloved brother, Goldewin, in accordance with your request, and two other brothers also, because he alone by himself could not perform the service to God and to you which needs to be rendered. I also ask, and ask urgently that you strive to accomplish at once and effectually what you have begun for the sake of God and of your souls, and if you could or would fulfil your work through the agency of others, we would desire with much longing that these brethren of ours should return to us, for they are very necessary to our Church in their duties. Yet let your will be done, because I am anxious to obey you in all things and by every means. May God Almighty bless you, and of His mercy absolve you from all your sins."

APPENDIX D

Assythment

In the modern practice of the Scottish Law Courts crime is held to be essential to support a claim for assythment, which is the reparation due to their relatives of a person who has been killed, by the person who committed the homicide. Thus in the year 1870, in a case promoted by the relatives of a man who had been killed in a railway accident, the Lord President declared in the court of session, "This is not an action of assythment, and it does not partake in any degree of the nature of such an action for this among other reasons, that no crime has been committed by the defenders." (*Scottish Jurist:* Vol. XLII. p. 577.)

Older legal authorities however distinguish between two kinds of assythment, viz: assythment proper which arises out of a criminal act, and those other cases where, although on criminal prosecution would lie for the homicide, it has been occasioned by some fault on the part of an individual. (See Prof. More's *Lectures on the Law of Scotland,* 1864, p. 348). To make this clear the statement of Lord Kames on the subject may be

quoted. (*Select decisions of the Court of Session.* 1780 p. 326.)

"The term Assythment bears two significations in our law. In the most common sense it is the same with the vergelt, that composition in money which anciently was paid by the criminal to the person he had injured, or to his relations. In a sense less common, though far from rare, it is the same with reparation of the loss I have sustained by any wrong done me. In the first sense, assythment is a punishment inflicted upon the delinquent, and is awarded to the person injured, for gratifying his resentment. . . . In the other sense, assythment, being a species of reparation, produces a civil action for damages proportioned to the extent of the mischief done."

In the year 1649 an act of Parliament was passed "anent the several degrees of casual homicide," which illustrates this statement (*Acts of Parliament of Scotland* Vol II, part II p. 173.) After ordaining that a list of cases of homicide, which begins with casual homicide, and homicide in lawful defence, shall not be punished by death, notwithstanding former laws or practice, it provides that "in the case of homicide casuall and of homicide in defence, notwithstanding that the manslayer is be this act fred from capitall punishment, yet it shall be lesum to the Cheeff Justice Court with advice of the counsall to fyne him in his

meanes to the use of the defunct's wyfe and bairnes or nearest of kin, or to imprison him."

Reference may also be made to a curious provision in the well known legal compendium called *Regiam Majestatem* which, although probably mainly of English origin, seems to have been of authority in Scotland after the 12th century. If a man on horseback ride down any one in front of him he shall pay cro and galnes as if he had slain him with his hands: but if a person behind him is killed by his horse he shall pay the fourth foot or the fourth part of the value of the horse only. (*Acts of Parliament of Scotland* I. 637.)

APPENDIX E

Seat Rents Under the Penal Laws

A curious document is preserved in the Rectory of St. Peter's Church, Fraserburgh, in Aberdeenshire, which illustrates the method of accommodating a congregation in a private house, at a date when the penal laws were being less rigorously enforced. It is "an account of Seat Rents at Middleburgh [about a mile outside the town] collected from Mr. William Walker's hearers by Thos. Kilgour" for the years 1760 and 1761. It appears that the minister's place was in the middle of the "Trans" or passage, where five or six of his congregation, including the precentor, sat at his right hand, and a similar number on his left. In the "East Room" over thirty of the faithful, including "My Lady Saltoun," were provided for, while more than forty were contained in the "West Room." The "Middle Room" accommodated sixteen worshippers, and ten found places in the "Trans seat leading to West Room." Even the "Long Sadle Bed" which seems to have been situated in the kitchen was called into requisition, and provided seats for seven of the congregation.

For these "sittings" sums varying from ten shillings to a shilling per annum were paid, a few, probably on account of their poverty, not contributing at all. The total income from the rents in 1760 amounted to £7-0-9, and was handed over to the minister.

APPENDIX F

The Modern Scottish Cathedrals

In four of the Scottish dioceses the Cathedrals were built as such, while in the three remaining instances parochial churches have been chosen to hold the Bishops' chairs. The earliest was that in the island of Cumbrae, dedicated to the Holy Spirit, built in 1849 and consecrated in 1876 as Cathedral of the Isles and Pro-Cathedral of Argyll. Then came St. Ninian's, Perth, partly built and consecrated in 1850 as Cathedral of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane: St. Andrew's, Inverness, built 1869, consecrated 1874, as Cathedral of Moray, Ross, and Caithness; and St. Mary's, Edinburgh, built and consecrated in 1879. In the diocese of Brechin the Church of St. Paul in Dundee (built 1855, cons. 1865) was constituted the Cathedral in 1905; in the diocese of Glasgow and Galloway, St. Mary's Church, Glasgow (built 1871, cons. 1884) was similarly dealt with in 1908, the list being completed in 1914 by the constitution of St. Andrew's Church, Aberdeen (built 1816, cons. 1864) as Cathedral of the United diocese of Aberdeen and Orkney.

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